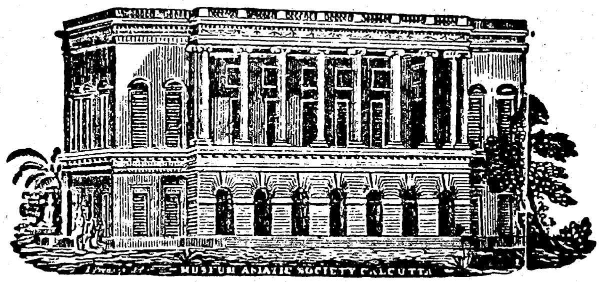
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# THE PRABANDHACINTĀMAṆI

OR

## WISHINGSTONE OF NARRATIVES

COMPOSED BY
MERUTUṄGA ĀCĀRYA

*TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT*

BY

C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.,

*Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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# :E PRABANDHACINTAMAṆI

OR

## *WISHING-STONE OF NARRATIVES*

### CHAPTER I.

Om ! I adore Çrī ! I adore the lord Mahāvīra !

.he Jina Ṛshabha, the divine son of Nābhi, the Paramesṭhin, who
akes an end of births,
the four gates of the glorious goddess of speech, which become her,
that she has four mouths.[1]

ıte on that spiritual preceptor, the lord Candraprabha,[2] who is
e up of accomplishments, as the moon is made up of digits,
and melts stone-like men, as the ray of the moon melts stones.

l be apparent from the note in the printed text that *Bhāratyoç°* is a or *Bhāratyāç°*, which is the reading of Bühler MS. No. 296. The four ;he four classes of the Jaina scriptures, which are sometimes divided into *ımānuyoga*, i.e. legends and history; (2) *Karaṇānuyoga*, i.e. works the origin and order of the universe; (3) *Dravyānuyoga*, treating of and doctrine; (4) *Caraṇānuyoga*, treating of customs and worship. As of the sacred writings are four, they fit into the four mouths of Sarasvatī, ur heads in the Jaina mythology. The names of the four classes given e taken from Hofrath Bühler's article on the Digambara Jainas (Indian ıary, VII. p. 28). But Hofrath Bühler informs me that these four classes are n to the Çvetāmbara Jainas by slightly different names, namely *dharmakathā-yoga; gaṇitānuyoga; dravyānuyoga; caraṇakaraṇānuyoga.* Hofrath Bühler refers ) to Weber, Catalog, Vol. II. pt. 2, p. 361.

I may here mention that as a general rule I do not translate *Çrī* and *çrīmat* when refixed to the names of persons and places. Our author employs these words very ıreely. [Since I wrote the above, Sanskrit scholarship and many friends in all parts of the world have suffered a terrible loss by the death of Professor and Hofrath J. G. Bühler, C.I.E.]

[2] Candraprabha means "gleaming like the moon": the word *kalā* means "accomplishment," and also "digit" or "sixteenth part of the moon." The *candrakānta* or moonstone is said to dissolve under the rays of the moon. Ca..draprabha is the name of the eighth Tīrthaŋkara.

After turning over many collections, Merutuṅga makes this book
From the prose narratives therein contained, for the easy comprehensio
the wise.

Moreover, when I was desirous of extracting this Prabandhacintā
From the tradition of sound spiritual teachers, as from a mine o
The reverend Dharmadeva assisted me in it,
By means of narratives a hundred times repeated.[1]

The reverend Gaṇin Guṇacandra produced the first copy of the P
cintāmaṇi,
A new book, pleasing as the Mahābhārata.[2]

Ancient stories, because they have been so often heard,
Do not delight so much the minds of the wise,
Therefore I compose this Prabandhacintāmaṇi book
Out of the life-histories of men not far removed from my ow

Although narratives, which the wise relate
Each according to his own mind,[3] must necessarily differ in cha
Still, as this book is put together from a good tradition,
The discreet should not indulge in cavilling with regard to it.

## The History of Vikramārka

Vikramārka, though of lowest rank, became foremost on the fac
earth by his virtues,—
By courage, generosity and other graces, an incomparable lord of e
At the beginning of my book I give a slight sketch of the histor
king,
Like a nectar-infusion in the ear of the listener, abridging it
though a vast theme.

Thus runs the tale :—

In the country of Avanti, in the city called Supratiṣṭhāna,
a Rajput named Vikrama, full of courage[4] and other virtues,

[1] I read *çatadhoditetivṛttaiçca* for *prathamoparodhavṛtteçca*. This readin
in the Appendix and in Hofrath Bühler's MS. No. 296, which I shall hen
call *a*. MS. No. 613, lent to me by the kindness of the Bombay Governmen
collation of which I call P, has *prathamoparodhavṛttaiçca*. A full account of th
MSS. will be given in the Introduction. The text perhaps means, "gave me t
assistance of a most encouraging attitude."

[2] More literally "produced the Prabandhacintāmaṇi in the first copy." I follow
Hofrath Bühler's translation on page 5 of his pamphlet, "Ueber das Leben des
Jaina Mönches Hemacandra." I find in *a* the various reading *'tra nirmitavān*. P has
*'tra darçitavān*.

[3] I read *svadhiyo°* for *sudhiyo°* with *a* and P. See Hofrath Bühler's "Ueber das
Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra," p. 5. This I shall henceforth quote as
Bühler's H.C.

[4] Sanskrit *vikrama*.

parable treasure-house of unrivalled daring, endowed with god-like marks.[1] Now this man, though afflicted with poverty from his birth, was devoted to policy, and when he did not obtain wealth even by more than a thousand devices, he, once on a time, set out for the Rohaṇa mountain in company with a friend named Bhaṭṭamātra. When they approached it, they[2] rested in the house of a potter, in a city called Pravara, near the mountain. When Bhaṭṭamātra, the next morning, asked the potter for a pickaxe, he said, "Any man in low circumstances, who goes into the middle of this mine, and hearing in the morning unwelcome news,[3] touches his forehead with his hand, and exclaims, 'Alas, Destiny!' and then strikes a blow, obtains whatever jewels may turn up." Bhaṭṭamātra, having thoroughly ascertained this fact from the potter, took those tools with him, and when Vikrama[4] was standing in the mine, ready to strike, in order to obtain jewels, being unable to induce him to assume the requisite despondency by any other method, he said to him, "A certain stranger has come from Ujjayinī, and when he was asked for news of the welfare of those at home, he said that your mother was dead." When Vikrama heard that intelligence, which was like a red-hot diamond needle, he struck his forehead with the palm of his hand, and exclaiming, "Alas, Destiny!" he flung the pickaxe from his grasp. When the ground was torn up by the point of the pickaxe, a gleaming jewel, worth a lakh and a quarter, sprang to light. Bhaṭṭamātra took the jewel and returned with Vikrama. In order to remove the danger of the dart of his friend's grief, Bhaṭṭamātra told him at that time the secret of the mine, and also the fact that his mother was in perfect health. Thinking that covetousness was bred in the bone of Bhaṭṭamātra, Vikrama flew into a passion, and tearing the jewel from his hand, he returned to the mouth of the mine. He exclaimed,—

Curse on the Rohaṇa mountain, that heals the wound of the poverty of the wretched!
Which gives jewels to petitioners, on their exclaiming, "Alas, Destiny!"

After uttering these words, he flung down the jewel in that very mine, in the sight of all the people, and wandering off to another country he reached the environs of Avanti. Having heard the sound of a shrill drum, and having ascertained the whole secret, he kept quiet about it, and entered the palace simultaneously with the drum. The ministers installed him as

[1] See Index to my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara s.v. "marks."

[2] Strictly speaking we are only told in the original that Bhaṭṭamātra rested.

[3] I read *prātarapuṇyaçravaṇapūrvaṁ* as the context seems to require it. P has *puṇyaçrāvaṇāpūrvaṁ*. The reading *puṇyaçravaṇātpūrvaṁ*, mentioned in the Appendix, would give a tolerable sense.

[4] He is sometimes called in the text Vikrama, and sometimes Vikramārka, or Vikramāditya. The latter is the best known name.

king, in that very *muhūrta*, without inquiring whether it was favourable or not, after twenty-four hours' interval. Owing to his sagacity, he said to himself, "Some mighty demon or god is angry with this kingdom, and kills one king every day, and[1] as there is no king, wastes the realm. So by fair or foul means I must win him over.[2] So he had prepared various kinds of viands and delicacies, and having arranged them all at night-fall in an upper room of the palace, he went there immediately after the evening ceremony of waving lights before the idol, surrounded by his guards, and placed a bolster covered with his own turban and garments on a swinging bed which was suspended from the ceiling by chains,[3] while he himself, excelling in valour the three worlds, stood, sword in hand, in a part of the room not lit up by the lamp. While he remained gazing into the air, lo! in the very dead of the night he beheld entering by way of the window first a smoke, then a flame, then a terrible vampire,[4] looking like the visible embodiment of the ruler of the dead; and he, with belly pinched with hunger, having enjoyed to his fill those delicacies, and having anointed his body with the sweet-smelling substances, and being pleased by tasting the betel, sat down on that bed and said to Vikrama, "Mortal, my name is Agnivetāla, and I am well known as the doorkeeper of the king of the gods. I kill one king every day. However, being pleased with this devotion on your part, I grant you your life and give you the kingdom, but you must always provide for me the same amount of viands and delicacies." When both had agreed to this compact, after the lapse of some time, king Vikrama asked the Vetāla the length of his own life. The Vetāla said, "I do not know, but I will ask my master and inform you." Having said this, he departed. He came again on another night and said to Vikrama, "The great Indra says that you will live for one hundred years exactly." The king urged strongly the obligations of friendship and entreated him earnestly, that he would induce Indra to make the hundred years shorter or longer[5] by one year. He promised to do so, but returned and said, "The great Indra will not consent to make your life ninety-nine or one hundred and one years." When the king heard this decision, he ordered the customary viands and delicacies not to be cooked for the next day, and remained at night ready to do battle. Thereupon the vampire came there the next night according to previous

[1] P and *a* insert *ca* after *nṛpābhāve*.
[2] This story is found in the Jaina recension of the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁçikā*. See Weber's Indische Studien, XV. pp. 273—275. Perhaps "by force or flattery" would do equally well as a translation of *bhaktyā çaktyā vā*.
[3] See Rās Mālā (reprint by Colonel Watson), pp. 191, 192.
[4] *Vetāla*.
[5] After *hīnaṁ* I insert with *a*, *adhikaṁ vā*. It is clear from what follows that these words are required. This is clear also from the Jaina version of the Siṁhāsanadvātriṁçikā (Indische Studien, XV. p. 274) where we read *mamāyuṣi çūnyaṁ patitaṁ tat tvayā varṣaṁ ekaṁ nyūnaṁ samadhikaṁ vā karaṇīyaṁ*.

custom, and said the same thing to the king, and not seeing those viands and other luxuries, objurgated him. Then a single combat took place between them, and lasted for a long time, but at last the king, by the help of his own good actions in a previous state of existence, beat the vampire down to the ground and putting his foot upon his heart, he said to him, "Call to mind your favourite deity." The vampire answered the king, "I am delighted with this marvellous daring on your part, and you may consider that you have won over me, the vampire named Agnivetāla, as a slave to execute all your commands."[1] So Vikrama's kingdom became free from enemies.[2] In this way he brought into subjection to himself the territories of ninety-six rival monarchs, conquering by his prowess the whole circle of the regions.

O Sāhasāŋka,[3] the wild elephant of the woods, approaching the palaces of thy enemies,
And beholding afar, in that part of their walls which is made of crystal, his own reflected image,
Thinking it a rival elephant, smites it in wrath, and breaking his tusk, looks again,
And then slowly, slowly strokes it, thinking it a female of his own race.

In the city of Avantī lived Priyaŋgumañjarī, the daughter of King Vikramāditya. She was made over to a paṇḍit named Vararuci for the purp se of study, and, owing to her cleverness, she learnt the Çāstras from im in a few days. She was in the prime of youth, and remained continu-y gratifying her father. One day in the season of spring, when she was ng on a sofa in the window at the time of mid-day, when the sun was ching men's foreheads, she saw her teacher coming along in the road; when he had rested in the shade of the window, she said to him, ving him some mango fruits mellow with ripeness, and knowing that he ed for them, "Would you like to have these fruits warm or cold?" , not seeing the real cunning of her question, answered, "I should like to have them warm." Thereupon, she threw them sideways into the corner of his garment, which he held out to receive them. They fell on the ground, and were consequently covered with dust. So the paṇḍit took them in his two palms, and proceeded to remove the dust by blowing upon them. While he was doing this, the princess said to him tauntingly, "What,

[1] I read with *a* and P, *yatkṛtyādeçakārī*. The vampire is called Agniçikha in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara. See Vol. II. of my translation, page 572.
[2] Literally, "thorns."
[3] Sāhasāŋka, i.e. "characterized by daring," is a name of Vikramāditya. At the end of these lines *a* inserts the following words, "Now we return to the narrative. Being praised in such words by Kālidāsa and other great poets, he enjoyed for a long time the kingdom. Now we will relate concisely the origin of Kālidāsa, as the subject presents itself naturally." The story of Kālidāsa is tacked on in a clumsy way, whatever reading we adopt.

are these fruits too hot, that you cool them with your breath?"[1] That Brahman, being annoyed by her taunting speech, said to her, "Ah! young woman, you fancy that you are very clever, but as you choose to cavil at your teacher, may you have a herdsman for a husband!" When she heard this curse of his, she uttered the following vow, "Whoever is your supreme preceptor through excelling you in knowledge,[2] though you do know the three Vedas, that man I will marry." Then, as king Vikrama was whelmed in a sea of anxiety with regard to finding a distinguished youth who would be a suitable match for her, once on a time that paṇḍit, by order of the king, who had become impatient for the pointing out of the desired bridegroom, entered a large forest, and was afflicted with excessive thirst. As no water appeared in any direction,[3] seeing a herdsman he asked him for water. The herdsman, as he had no water to give, said, "Drink milk," and then told him to make a *karavaḍī*.[4] When the paṇḍit heard this term, which of all terms he had never heard before in his life, his mind was devoured by bewilderment. But the herdsman put his hand on the paṇḍit's head, and placed him under a buffalo-cow, and then, having induced the paṇḍit to put the palms of his hands together, so as to form what is called a *karavaḍī*, he made him drink milk till his throat was filled. The paṇḍit considered the herdsman as good as his preceptor, because h[e] placed his hand on his head and taught him the specific term *karavaḍī*, an[d] thought that he would be a fitting bridegroom for the princess.[5] So h[e] made him leave the buffalo-cow, and brought him to his own palace; an[d] for six months made him cultivate his person, and repeat the formula [of] blessing, "*Oṁ namaḥ Çivāya!*" After six months he found that t[he] syllables were well impressed on the surface of his throat, so in a fortu[nate] *muhūrta* he conducted him to the court of the king, after he had b[een] suitably adorned. The herdsman was so bewildered by the sight of [the] court, that when he tried to address to the king the formula of blessing [he] had carefully practised, he brought out the syllables, "*Uçaraṭa.*"[6] W[hen] the king was puzzled with the herdsman's stammering utterance, the paṇḍit, wishing to have him credited with a cleverness he did not possess, said:—

[1] This feeble joke is found in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara. See Vol. II. of my translation, p. 619.

[2] I read with *a* and P, *adhikavidyatayā*. This reading is justified by the sequel. It is also found in the MSS. which Dīnānātha calls A and B.

[3] I read *sarvataḥ sarvatomukhābhāvāt*. I find this reading in *a* and P. Hofrath Bühler has reminded me that *sarvatomukha* means "water."

[4] A, B and *a* give *karacaṇḍīṁ*. P agrees clearly with the text, wherever the word occurs. I have therefore followed the text.

[5] It will be observed that he satisfied both conditions, being a herdsman, and the preceptor of the paṇḍit, superior to him in the knowledge of one word.

[6] For a similar story see the reference on p. 161 of Fick's "Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit" to the Somadatta Jātaka (II. 165).

"May Rudra together with Umā, bestowing blessings, trident in hand,
Elated with the might of his shout, protect thee, O lord of the Earth!"

By understanding this couplet to be intended, he interpreted in diffuse language the depth of the herdsman's learning. The king, pleased with this satisfactory evidence of the herdsman's learning, had him married to his daughter. In accordance with the advice of the paṇḍit, the herdsman preserved unbroken silence; but the princess, wishing to test his cleverness, entreated him to revise [1] a newly-written book. He placed the book in the palm of his hand, and with a nail-parer proceeded to remove from the letters in it the dots and the oblique lines at the top indicating vowels,[2] and thus to isolate them, and then the princess discovered that he was a cowherd. After that the son-in-law's revision became a proverb everywhere. O[illegible]ce on a time they pointed out to him a herd of buffalo-cows in a picture ted on a wall. In his delight he forgot his high rank, and uttered the barous [3] words made use of for calling buffalo-cows. So it was ascer-ed for certain that he was a keeper of buffalo-cows.[4] The herdsman, ecting on that contempt, which the princess showed towards him, began propitiate the goddess Kālī in order to attain learning. The king, being aid that his daughter would be left a widow, sent a female slave in guise [5] at night, and when she woke him up and said to him, "I am ased with you," the goddess Kālī herself, apprehending that some aster would take place, appeared in visible form and granted his request. hen the princess heard of that occurrence she was delighted, and came here and said, "Is there any special utterance?" He thereupon, having ecome known by the name of Kālidāsa, composed the three Mahākāvyas, he Kumāra Sambhava, and so on, and six other works.[6]

Once on a time a merchant named Dānta, who lived in King Vikramāditya's city, came to him as he was in his hall of audience, with a present in his hand, and, bowing low, said to him, "King, in a lucky *muhūrta* I had a palace built by distinguished master-builders, and I went into it with

[1] The word used means also "purify," and perhaps the herdsman interpreted it literally.

[2] I have taken this sense of *mātrā* from Molesworth's Marāṭhī Dictionary. But in Hindi, according to the Dictionary of Bates, the word in addition to this meaning, indicates the horizontal stroke of a letter.

[3] I read with P, *vikṛta* for *vikṛti*.

[4] I find *tayā* inserted in *a* after *niççikye*. This means that the princess ascertained the fact.

[5] She was of course personating the goddess. Propitiating Kālī often involves suicide.

[6] This account of Kālidāsa's origin and his acquisition of literary ability by the favour of the goddess Kālī is also found in Tāranātha's History of Buddhism. See Mr. Heeley's paper in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV. pp. 101—104. Cp. also the form of the story given in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII. pp. 115—117. The editor gives other references in a footnote.

great rejoicings; but, while I was lying there on my bed at night, half asleep and half awake, I suddenly heard a voice say, 'I am about to fall.' I was bewildered with fear, and exclaiming, 'Do not fall,' I immediately made my escape. I have been to no purpose mulcted by the astrologers, who have had to do with this mansion, and by the architects, in the form of contributions, such as seasonable complimentary presents,[1] and so on. Now it remains for your Majesty to decide what should be done." When the king had carefully considered the account given by the merchant, he paid him the three lakhs which he fixed as the price of that splendid mansion, and, after the general assembly[2] of the evening, king Vikrama slept comfortably in that palace which he had made his own. When he heard that same voice say, "I am falling," he, being a man of unrivalled daring, said, "Fall quickly," and so he obtained a man of gold that fell near him. Such is the story of the attainment of the man of gold.[3]

Then, on another occasion,[4] a certain poverty-stricken man was introduc by the warder, with a very thin iron doll, representing poverty,[5] in i hand, and said to the king, "Your Majesty, I heard the report that Avantī, famous for having you as its lord, all things are quickly sold a easily purchased, and yet I have during a day and night carried round th poverty-doll for sale in the eighty-four cross-roads of the city, but no o has bought it; on the contrary, I have been abused. I have made know to your Majesty this reproach to the city, as it is, and I now return by t way by which I came. I hereby take my leave of your Majesty." Imm diately the king, taking into account that great stain of reproach[6] on th honour of his city, gave him one hundred thousand *dīnāras*, and placed that iron doll in his treasury. In the course of that same night, in the first watch, the deity that presided over the elephants[7] appeared to the king as he was comfortably asleep; in the second watch appeared the deity that presided over the horses; in the third watch appeared the goddess of Fortune herself, and they all said, "Since your Majesty has been pleased to buy a doll representing poverty, it is not fitting for us to remain here." In these words they took leave of him, and saying, "Let not your Majesty's courage

[1] I read *yathāvasaram arhaṇādibhiḥ*. This is found in P and *a*, and is given in the Appendix as the reading of A and B.

[2] It is obvious that *sarvāvasara*, as used in this book, corresponds to the Urdu *dīwān-i-'āmm* or *darbār-i-'āmm*.

[3] This "man of gold" was also attained by Raŋka. See page 276 of the printed text. It seems to be a favourite *siddhi*. Another account will be found in Weber's Indische Studien, XV. p. 278.

[4] I read with *a*, *athānyasminnavasare*.

[5] *Daridraputraka*. But below it is called *dāridryaputraka*, which gives a better sense.

[6] Literally, "mud of reproach."

[7] The text has *rājyādhiṣṭhātṛdaivatam*. But *a* has *gajādhiṣṭhātṛ°*, which is shown by the sequel to be the right reading. P has *gajādhistātṛ°* (*sic*).

be daunted!" departed, after receiving permission from the king. In the fourth watch a certain noble-looking man, of a celestial radiant form, appeared, and said, "I am named Courage;[1] I have attended on you since your birth, and now I take leave of you, being about to go."[2] When the apparition had said this, the king took his sword in his grasp and prepared to slay himself, but that moment that very same being seized him by the hand, and restrained him, saying, "I am pleased with you." The three deities that presided over the elephants and other departments, returned, and said to the king, "We have been deceived by this genius of courage, who has broken the compact we made to depart, so it is not fit that we should go away and leave the king." Accordingly, they also remained, without the king's making any effort to detain them.

Then, on another occasion, a certain foreigner, who was well acquainted with the science of palmistry, was introduced by the doorkeeper into the presence of the king, who was in his hall of audience, and after entering, looked at his marks, and began to shake his head. The king asked him the cause of his despondency. He replied, "Now that I have seen that, though you possess in fulness all the inauspicious marks, you are enjoying the fortune of sovereignty over ninety-six realms, I have become sceptical about the science of palmistry. But I do not perceive in you any speckled entrail, which could give you the power to hold sway, as you do." As soon as king Vikramāditya heard this speech, he seized his sword, and proceeded to put it to his stomach, but the professor of palmistry asked him what he was about. The king answered, "I am about to rip open my stomach and show you an entrail of that kind." The professor of palmistry said, "I now perceive[3] that you possess the mark of courage, which is better than all the thirty-two auspicious marks." Thereupon the king dismissed him with a present.

Then, having heard on a certain occasion, that all accomplishments are useless in comparison with the art of entering the bodies of other creatures, king Vikrama repaired to the Yogin Bhairavānanda, and propitiated him for a long time on the mountain of Çrī.[4] But a former servant of his, a certain Brahman, said to the king, "You ought not to receive from the teacher the art of entering other bodies, unless it is given to me at the same time." Having been thus entreated, the king made this request to the teacher, when he was desirous of bestowing on him the science, "First

[1] *Sattva.*

[2] In *a* is found the word *mutkalāpayaṣāmi* (for *mutkalāpayiṣyāmi?*). This word is found in the Kathā Koça. See the preface to my translation, page xxii.

[3] Here *a* gives *nāvagamitam* for *novagatam*. It probably means, "I did not perceive when I first came in." For the 32 *Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas*, see Kern's Manual of Buddhism, page 62.

[4] See Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. II. page 18, note.

bestow the science on this Brahman, then on me." The teacher said, "King, this man is altogether unworthy of the science." Then he gave him this warning, "You will again and again repent of this request." After the teacher had given this warning, at the earnest entreaty of the king, he bestowed the science on the Brahman. Then both returned to Ujjayinī. When the king reached it, seeing that his courtiers were depressed on account of the death of the state elephant,[1] and also in order to test the science of entering another body, he transferred his soul into the body of his own elephant.

The occurrence is thus described :

The king, while the Brahman kept guard, entered by his science the body of his elephant ;
The Brahman entered the body of the king ; then the king became a pet parrot ;
The king transferred himself into the body of a lizard ; then considering that the queen was likely to die,
The Brahman restored to life the parrot, and the great Vikrama recovered his own body.

In this way Vikramāditya acquired the art of entering another body.[2]

Then, on another occasion,[3] as King Vikrama was going about on his royal circuit, he saw the teacher Siddhasena[4] approaching, being followed by the members of the Jaina community residing in that city, and praised by sons of bards as the son of the All-knowing. The king was annoyed by the phrase "son of the All-knowing." In order to test his omniscience, he paid him the tribute of a mental salutation.

When a worthy person has come within range of my eyes, ten hundred, and when I speak to him, ten thousand,
And as for the man whose saying may make me laugh, on him let a hundred thousand be quickly bestowed by you,
I always give in a present ten million *niṣkas,* such is my supreme command, for aye,
O superintendent of the treasury ; such a system of liberality did Vikramāditya observe.[5]

Siddhasena, for his part, by means of the Pūrvagata scripture[6] having understood the mind of the king, lifted up his right hand and gave the

[1] *Paṭṭahastin.*
[2] See my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Vol. I. pp. 21, 22 ; Vol. II. p. 353.
[3] I read *atrānyasminnavasare* with *a.*
[4] For the story of Siddhasena see Weber's Indische Studien, XV. p. 279 and ff.
[5] This stanza is found in the Jaina recension of the Siṁhāsanadvātriṁçikā. See Indische Studien, XV. p. 309, where *ārte* is read for *āpte.*
[6] I find *çruta* in P after *pūrvagata.*

king his benediction,[1] expressing a wish that he might obtain the faith. The king asked him the reason which led him to bestow his benediction. Thereupon the great hermit told him, that it was being bestowed upon him in return for his mental salutation. When he said this, the king, astonished at his knowledge, gave him ten millions of gold pieces by way of reward. Then, on another occasion, the king asked the superintendent of the treasury the story of the gold which he had ordered to be given to the sage, and he said, "I entered the item of the gift of gold in the charity accounts[2] in the form of the following couplet,—

"When the Jaina sage Siddhasena, lifting up his hand, said to the king from afar,
'May you obtain the faith,' the monarch of men gave him ten millions."[3]

Afterwards, when the king summoned the sage Siddhasena into the hall of audience, and said, "Take that gold," the sage exclaiming that it was useless to give food to the sated, bade him free the earth which was laden with debt, by means of that gold. When the king had received this piece of advice, being pleased with the contentment of the sage, he promised to do as he bade.

A beggar, that has come, longing to see you, stands stopped at the door,
With four couplets in his hand; is he to come or go?[4]
Let ten hundred thousand be given, and fourteen grants,
With four couplets in his hand, let him come or go!

Falsely art thou praised by the wise on the ground that always thou givest all things,
Thy enemies have not gained a sight of thy back, nor the wives of others thy heart.[5]
The goddess of eloquence resides in thy mouth, fortune in the lotus of thy hand,
Why is fame so wroth, O king, that she has travelled to foreign lands?[6]
Whence hast thou learnt this so strange science of archery?
The stream of arrows[7] comes towards thee, the bow-string[8] goes to another quarter.

[1] The words *dakṣiṇapāṇim—dadan* form half a *çloka*.

[2] *Dharmavahikāyāṁ*. In the Gujarati language *vahī* means an account-book. Hofrath Bühler refers me to the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III. p. 365 and ff.

[3] This stanza is found in the Jaina recension of the Siṁhāsanadvātriṁçikā. Indische Studien, XV. p. 286.

[4] This couplet is found in the Bhojaprabandha, p. 102 of Pavie's edition, with the variant *kim āgacchatu*. See also Indische Studien, XV. p. 287.

[5] Found in a slightly different form in the Bhojapabandha, ed. Pavie, p. 124. See also Weber's Indische Studien, XV. p. 288.

[6] The king's fame has spread to foreign countries. For this stanza see Indische Studien, XV. p. 288.

[7] The word that means "arrow," also means "petitioner." This couplet is found on page 124 of Pavie's Bhojaprabandha.

[8] The word *guṇa* means "bow-string" or "virtue." The king's virtue is renowned afar. See Indische Studien, XV. p. 287 for this, and page 288 for the following couplet.

When thy loud-sounding drum is struck, the hearts of thy enemies break like jars,
But the eyes of their wives stream ; this, O king, is a great miracle.
The goddess of eloquence [1] dwells ever in the lotus of thy mouth, but thy lower lip is always red,
Thy arm is quick to remind men of the might of Rāma, thy right hand is a sea,[2]
Armies,[3] having come to thy side, do not even for a moment leave thee,
Whence, O lord of earth, is there repeatedly in this thy transparent inner mind,[4] the desire of drinking water ?

In that very night the king roamed [5] about in the city in search of adventures, and heard the following half-couplet being repeated again and again by the mouth of an oilman :—

One might indeed call our ruler Kṛṣṇa the preserver.[6]

The king waited all the remainder of the night until daybreak, in hopes of hearing the second half of the couplet, but not hearing it he became despondent, and going back to his palace he went to sleep. In the morning, after the king had performed the duties incumbent on him at that time, he summoned the oilman, and asked him the second half of the couplet. He repeated it as follows :—

The world is whelmed in poverty, and the bonds of taxation[7] are not indeed relaxed.

Reflecting that Siddhasena's advice was now repeated, he began to free the world from debt. Then he asked Siddhasena whether there would ever be any Jaina king like himself; and thereupon the sage Siddhasena said :—

" When a thousand years are fulfilled, and a hundred and ninety-nine,
There shall be a king, Kumārapāla by name, like thee, O Vikramāditya."

Then, on another occasion, while the world was being freed from debt, feeling puffed up with conceit on account of his own virtue of generosity,

[1] Sarasvatī is represented as extremely white. See Miss Ridding's Kādambarī, p. 104, note.

[2] Perhaps it also means " You have the Southern sea."

[3] Or " rivers."

[4] In mind (*mānasa*) there is a reference to the Mānasa lake. Here I have omitted one Sanskrit couplet, which is repeated further on in the book, and one Prakrit couplet for reasons which will be apparent to the student of the original text.

[5] Here *a* and P have *paribhraman* for *bhraman*. This is, perhaps, an improvement.

[6] The reading of *a* is *nārāyaṇa ha kahijja*.

[7] The word translated " bonds of taxation " also means " fettering of Bali." Viṣṇu is called " Balibandhana," the fetterer of Bali, in allusion to the dwarf incarnation. No doubt the king expected that the second line would be laudatory.

he said to himself that he would have a pillar of fame erected next morning, and as he was wandering about that very same night in the cross-road in search of adventures, being chased by two fighting bulls, he climbed up a pillar in the ruined cowhouse of a certain Brahman afflicted with poverty, and while he was there, these two bulls struck the pillar again and again with the points of their horns. In the meanwhile that Brahman was suddenly awakened from sleep, and seeing that the disk of the moon was obscured in the sky by Venus and Jupiter, he woke up his wife, and perceiving that danger to the life of the king was indicated by the disk of the moon, he ordered his wife to bring things fit for sacrifice, in order that he might make an oblation in the fire to avert that calamity.[1] The king all this while was listening attentively, and heard his wife answer him, "This king, though he is freeing[2] the world from debt, does not bestow wealth to marry my seven daughters.[3] So how can it be fitting to perform an evil-averting ceremony to deliver such a man from calamity?" By this speech of the Brahman's wife, the king had his pride completely stripped from him, and after he had escaped[4] from that danger, forgetting all about the pillar of fame, he ruled his realm for a long time.

Alas! though thou hast lost thy courage and defiled thyself,
Thou hast not obtained freedom from old age and death:[5] alas! Vikrama,
thy birth has been thrown away.

Once on a time, at the end of his life, when Vikrama was in an unhealthy state of body, a certain professor of medical science gave this advice, "The disease may be cured by eating the flesh of a crow." The king ordered that dish to be cooked, but the physician, reflecting that this was in opposition to his natural character, said to him, "At the present juncture the medicine of religion is the really efficacious one. The alteration of the natural character of anything is a portent of evil. Through longing for life you have abandoned your world-surpassing courageous nature, and long for the flesh of a crow; so, in any case, you will not live." When thus admonished by the physician, the king gave him a present, and praised him as his true friend. He then distributed to petitioners all his property, consisting of elephants, horses, treasure, and so on, and took leave of the courtiers and the citizens, and after performing the charitable

[1] A very similar incident will be found in Jātaka 290 (p. 291 of Jātaka, Vol. II. Rouse). To this Fick refers (Sociale Gliederung, p. 150).

[2] I find in *a*, *kurvannapi*.

[3] In modern Bengal a poor Kulīn Brahman with seven daughters to marry would, indeed, be in a pitiable position.

[4] The word *chuṭitaḥ* as it stands in *a* and P, or *chuṭṭitaḥ* as it is given by Dīnānātha, is perhaps the Hindi *chuṭnā* or the Gujarati *chuṭvuṁ*.

[5] i.e. *mokṣa* or salvation.

donations to the sick, and the worshipping of the gods suited to the occasion, he took up his position on a couch of *darbha*-grass in a certain private part of the palace, and began to think that he would dismiss his soul by the door of Brahma.[1] While engaged in these reflections, he saw suddenly appearing a bevy of heavenly nymphs; so placing his hands in a suppliant attitude, and prostrating himself, he asked, "Who are you?" The nymphs said, "The present occasion is not suitable for a long speech; we are come to take leave of you." When they had given this answer they prepared to depart, but the king said to them again, "Though you have been created by the new Brahmā, and have precisely similar forms, yet one[2] of your forms is without a nose; I wish to know the reason of that." Then they clapped their hands and laughed, and said, "You attribute your own fault to us," and thereupon relapsed into silence. The king said to them, "When you live in the world of heaven, how can my fault be attributed to you?" When the king's speech was ended, the chief of the nymphs, named Sumukhyā, said to him, "King, owing to the development of your meritorious actions in a former life, in this life nine treasures have descended into your palace. We preside over them. Your Majesty, by giving great gifts from your birth like a god,[3] has subtracted so much from one treasure, that you do not see the tip of its nose." When he heard this reply from the nymph, he touched his forehead with the palm of his hand, and said, "If I had known that I had nine treasures, I would have given them to nine men; I have been defrauded by destiny, owing to my ignorance." While he was uttering these words, they informed him that he was the only really generous man in the Kali Yuga,[4] and so he passed to the other world. From that time forth, this Saṁvatsara era of that Vikramāditya has prevailed in the world up to the present day. So we have related various stories about the generosity of Vikramāditya.

### Now follows the History of Çālivāhana.[5]

Now you must learn the story of Sātavāhana, illustrative of generosity and wisdom, related according to tradition. The story of his former life is as follows:—

As king Çātavāhana was going on his royal circuit in the city of

[1] *Brahmadvāra* is, of course, equivalent to *Brahmarandhra*, a suture or aperture in the crown of the head, through which the soul is said to escape at death.

[2] I read *ekam eva* with A, B, *a*, and P. The sequel will show that this is absolutely necessary.

[3] The reading of the text is supported by P. *Devatārūpeṇa* is omitted in *a*.

[4] This corresponds to the Iron Age of European mythology.

[5] Dīnānātha points out that this king is called Çālivāhana, Çālavāhana, Sālavāhana, Sālavāhaṇa, Sālāhaṇa, Sātavāhana, and Hāla. He is also called Çātavāhana in this book.

Pratiṣṭhāna, he saw in the river near the city a certain fish that had been thrown up by the waves on the bank of the river, laughing; and reflecting that the alteration of the natural character of anything is a portent of evil, he was bewildered with fear, and he asked all clever people about this doubtful point, and at last he questioned a Jaina hermit, named Jñānasāgara. He having discerned by the surpassing excellence of his knowledge the king's former life, gave this instructive response, "In a former life you were in this very city a man whose family had become extinct, and you supported yourself only by carrying loads of wood. At meal-time you used to repair to this very river, and on a slab of rock near it, you used continually to stir up barley-meal with water and eat it. Once on a time you saw walking in front of you a Jaina hermit, who had come to take food after a month's fast. So you called him, and gave[1] him the ball of meal that you had made. From the surpassing merit acquired by giving to that fitting object, you have become King Çālavāhana. That hermit has become a god. That god entered into the fish, and the fish being thus animated by the god laughed for joy at beholding the soul of the wood-carrier, which is none other than yourself, born in the rank of a king." And this story is summed up in the following stanza:—

When the face of the fish laughed, the hermit said to king Çātavāhana,
Who was bewildered with fear, "Because thou on the bank of this river,
Didst cause a hermit to break his fast on barley-meal long ago,
Happening to behold thee, thereupon the fish laughed."

That Çātavāhana, having represented to his mind, by his power of remembering his former births, that incident of old time, practised from that day forth the virtue of charity, and devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men. He bought four *gāthās* for forty million gold pieces, and had a book made, which was a treasury of *gāthās* that he had collected,[2] named Çālivāhana, containing seven hundred *gāthās*, and so being a storehouse of various glorious achievements, he ruled for a long time.

These four[3] *gāthas* are as follows:—

[1] I have given what I suppose to be the sense of the passage. The MSS. support the text.

[2] *Saŋgrahagāthākoça*. *Saŋgraha* is omitted in *a*. In the Navasāhasāŋkacarita by Bühler and Zachariæ, p. 32 note, we find "Der Sātavāhana, welcher hier gemeint ist, wird Hāla der compilator des Gāthākoṣa sein." On the second page of Weber's "Ueber das Saptaçatakaṁ des Hāla," we find it stated that Dr. Bhau Dāji identified Hāla with Çātavāhana. See Cowell and Thomas's translation of the Harṣacarita, p. 2, n. 13.

[3] Ten *gāthās* are given in Dīnānātha's edition, but four of them are not worth translating into English. The first and tenth enumerate the sums paid, mentioning the principal words of the *gāthās* bought. I have not found any one of the ten *gāthās* in Weber's book.

Do not learn, O parrot, how a ripe mango, caressed by the beak, falls,
Here is a field of rice sprung up, presuming on its hardness.
No disrespect should be shown to those men, who are like banana-stems,
Who, when bestowing fruits, do not regard their own destruction.
The Vindhya supports every day dry trees as well as trees full of sap,
The great do not abandon one who has been reared in their laps, though he be worthless.
When a first object of regard has for some reason or other been adopted by those men and women,
The reason that they do not look at another is that it is even like the roof-tree familiar to them from their birth.
Will the fragrance delighting all men, that belongs to the sandal-wood tree, though dry,
Will this fragrance, I say, be found in it, in the condition of a new tree full of sap?
The banana-tree, the Vindhya mountain, the object of regard, and the sandal-wood tree,
These were immediately bought by Çālivāhana for ninety millions.

Now follows the story of the moral vow. The following is a brief abstract of it. In the city of Kanyakubja, the royal residence,[1] which is of the size of thirty-six lakhs of villages, the king Bhūdeva, on account of the fact that he fell in love with the wife of the servant that superintended his beverages, propitiated Kadramahākāla in Mālava, and after giving the realm of Mālava to that god, himself became an ascetic.[2]

In the land of Gujarāt, in the region called Vaḍhīyāra, in the village of Pañcāçara, the mother of a boy of the Cāpotkaṭa race placed him in a cradle[3] on a tree called *vaṇa*, and herself went to gather fuel.

It happened that, for some reason or other, the Jaina teacher, named Çīlaguṇasūri, came there and saw that the shade of that tree was not inclined, though it was the afternoon. He thought that this strange fact must be due to the power of the merit of that very boy that was in the cradle, and hoping that he was destined to extend the Jaina faith, he bought him from

[1] *Kalyāṇakaṭaka*. Is this the Hindustani "*urdū mu'allā*"?

[2] The story is told at length in the Appendix to Dīnānātha's edition, after B apparently. It is also given in *a*. The god is called simply Mahākāla. By way of atonement for his offence, the king makes over to the god the land of Mālava, which is half of the kingdom of Kanyakubja, and appoints the Paramāra Rajputs to guard it.

[3] Sanskrit *Jholikā*. Hofrath Bühler (H.C. p. 41) translates Jholikāvihāra by "Wiegen-Tempel." I find that in Hindi there is a word "*Jhūlī*" meaning "a hammock or swinging-cot," while in Gujarati *Jhoḍī* means "a child's cradle."

Another, and a still more romantic, account of the origin of this dynasty will be found in the Rās Mālā (Watson's edition), p. 19 and ff.

his mother by giving her the means of subsistence.[1] He was brought up by the abbess Vīramatī,[2] and his spiritual preceptor gave him the name of Vanarāja. When he was eight years old he was entrusted with the duty of keeping off the mice that spoiled the offerings made to the god. He killed them with clods,[3] but was forbidden by the teacher, whereupon he said they must be got rid of by the fourth expedient.[4] The teacher investigated his horoscope, and finding in it an arrangement of the heavenly bodies, which showed that he was destined for kingship, he came to the conclusion that he would be a powerful sovereign, and gave him back to his mother. He lived with his mother in a certain district, inhabited by a wild tribe,[5] belonging to his maternal uncle, and as his maternal uncle lived the life of a bandit, he made raiding expeditions in all directions. Once on a time,[6] in the village of Kākara, he had dug a tunnel into the house of a merchant, and was stealing his wealth, when his hand slipped into a vessel of curds. He said to himself, "I have eaten in this house," and so he left all the merchant's possessions there, and went out. The next day the merchant's sister Çrīdevī sent for him secretly in the night, out of love for her brother. She treated him kindly, giving him food and wealth;[7] so he made her this promise, "You, lady, shall at the ceremony of my coronation, place, as my sister, the ornament[8] on my forehead." Then, on another occasion, as he was living the life of a freebooter,[9] some of his bandit followers stopped in a certain district of the forest a merchant named Jamba,[10] who, seeing those three thieves, broke two out of the five arrows that he had. They asked him the reason. He said, "Since there are only three of you, the two surplus arrows are useless." When he had given this answer they pointed out to him a moving[11] mark, which he hit with an arrow. They were so delighted that they took him with them to Vanarāja, who admired so much his warlike skill, that he said to him, "At the cere-

[1] We learn from Bühler's Hemacandra that the order of Yatis is recruited by the purchase of boys. Sometimes the Yatis beg children or adopt orphans. (H.C. p. 9.)

[2] *Vīramatīgaṇinyā*. But I find in *a*, *Vīramatīgaṇinā*, the masculine instead of the feminine. P gives *Vīramatīgaṇinyā*.

[3] I find in *a*, *vāṇena* with an arrow. A and B give the plural "with arrows." P gives *bāṇena*.

[4] The four *upāyas* (or expedients) are sowing dissension, negotiation, bribery, and open attack.

[5] *Pallibhūmi*.

[6] I insert *kadācit* with *a*. The *Globe* newspaper for February 4th, 1899, tells a similar story with regard to a bandit named "Yakook Lais" who flourished about the middle of the ninth century. "The robber's eye was attracted by something small and glittering on the ground, which he took to be a diamond; picking it up he thoughtlessly conveyed it to his lips." The consequence was that the robber had to abandon the property of the governor of the province, as he had eaten his salt.

[7] Or according to *a*, a bath, food and clothes. A and B have the same reading.

[8] *Tilaka*. [9] *Caraṭavṛttyā vartamānasya*. [10] Here P gives Jāmba.

[11] I adopt *calavedhyaṁ*, the reading of A, B, *a* and P.

mony of my coronation you shall be my chief minister," and so he dismissed him. Then a *pañcakula* [1] came from Kanyakubja in order to draw tribute from the land of Gujarāt, which had been given by the king of that country [2] to his daughter named Mahanikā, by way of marriage portion, and he made the man named Vanarāja his arrow-bearer.[3] After the *pañcakula* had collected wealth from the country for six months, he set out to return to his own land, with twenty-four lakhs of silver *drammas*, and four thousand well-bred horses; but Vanarāja killed him at a ghāṭ named Saurāṣṭra, and lived in concealment for a year in a certain forest fastness, out of fear of his sovereign. Then he was desirous of building a capital, in order that he might be crowned as monarch of his own territory; so he began to look out for a heroic stretch of land, and as he was thus engaged, he was asked by a man named Aṇahilla, the son of Bhīrūyāḍa Sākhaḍa, who was comfortably seated on the edge of the Pīpalutā tank, "What are you looking for?" Those ministers [4] said, "We are looking for a heroic stretch of land fit to build a city on." He answered, "If you will give my name to the city that you build, I will show you the piece of land of which you are in search." Then he went near a Jāli-tree, and showed them as much land as a dog was chased over by a hare.[5] There Vanarāja founded a city called Aṇahillapura, on the second day of the white fortnight of Vaiçākha, on a Monday, in the 802nd year of the era of Vikramāditya, and had a palace built under that Jāli-tree. Then, a time pointed out by the astrologers as suitable for his coronation having arrived, he sent for that Çrīdevī,[6] whom he had adopted as his sister, who lived in the village of Kākara, and had the ornament on his forehead affixed by her, and had himself crowned king under the title of Vanarāja, being fifty-six years old. That merchant, named Jamba, was made his prime minister. He brought

[1] This word occurs frequently in this book. It seems to denote a government officer, not necessarily, in all cases, a revenue officer, though, as a general rule, that meaning is appropriate. On pages 232 and 302 it is strikingly inappropriate.

[2] I read with *a* and P, *taddeçarājñaḥ* for *tādṛçarājñaḥ*. This reading is also given in the Appendix. The statement in the text derives some support from a recently discovered copperplate, which seems to belong to the eighth century. We learn from it that king Bhoja of Mahodaya or Kanauj confirmed a land-grant made originally by his great grandfather Vatsarāja and a letter of consent (*anumati*) of his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa. The village, which was the subject of the grant (*çāsana*) was Çivāgrāma situated in the Ḍenḍvā province of Gujarāt. This information I owe to Hofrath Bühler.

[3] *Sellabhṛt*. The word *sello* is given by Hemacandra as equivalent to *mṛgaçiçuḥ çaraçca*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 28 of Watson's edition) translates it by "spear-bearer" He tells us that "King Bhoowur had assigned the revenues of Gujarāt as the portion of his daughter Milan Devee."

[4] *Taiḥ pradhānair°*. But *a* has simply *tair°*, which would mean "he said." The reading of the text probably points to some omission.

[5] I read with P, *yāvatīm bhuvaṁ çacakena çvā trāsitastāvatīm*. This agrees with the reading of *a*, but *a* has *çaçaŋkena*. The reading I have adopted is also found in the Appendix.

[6] Here called *Çriyādevī*. But see Appendix.

with great respect from the village of Pañcāsara the Jaina doctor, Çīlaguṇa, and placed him on his own throne in his palace, and being the very crest-jewel of gratitude, he wished to make over to him his kingdom with all its seven constituent parts; but the sage, who was free from covetousness, again forbade him.[1] Thinking that he would in this way repay his kindness, the king caused to be built, in accordance with the command of the sage, the Caitya called Pañcāsara, adorned with an image of Pārçvanātha,[2] and furnished with a statue of himself as a worshipper. In the same way also he had made a temple of Kaṇṭheçvarī in the immediate neighbourhood[3] of his palace.

But this kingdom of the Gurjaras, even from the time of King Vanarāja,
Was established with Jaina mantras, its foe indeed has no cause to rejoice.

From the commencement of his reign, until its termination, Vanarāja reigned 59 years, 2 months and 21 days:[4] the whole life of Vanarāja was 109 years, 2 months and 21 days. In the 862nd year of the era of king Vikramāditya, on the third day of the white fortnight of Āṣāḍha, on a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Açvinī, during the continuance of the *lagna* of Leo, took place the coronation of Yogarāja, the son of Vanarāja. He had three sons. Once on a time the prince named Kṣemarāja made this representation to the king. "The ships of a king of a foreign country having been driven out of their course by a cyclone, have come from other tidal shores to Someçvarapattana. Now there are in them a thousand spirited horses, and elephants a hundred and fifty in number, and of other things to the number of ten millions. All these will go to their own country through our country. If your Majesty will give the order, then I will bring them to you." When this proposal had been made to the king, he forbade the attempt. Immediately those three princes, thinking that the king was decrepit from old age, made ready an army in that very border district of their country, and in the stealthy manner of thieves intercepted that whole caravan and brought it to their father. The king was inly wroth, so

[1] The seven constituent parts of a kingdom are the king, his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army and treasury. P gives "again and again forbade him." But *a* supports the text.

[2] This is mentioned in the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha. See pages 8, 9 of Hofrath Bühler's pamphlet (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Band CXIX. vii.). See also Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 29, where we learn that an image of the king in the attitude of a worshipper, covered, however, by his scarlet umbrella, is still preserved in the temple.

[3] Perhaps we should omit the word °*kaṇṭhe* with A and *a*, which give only *dhavalagṛhe*. In P, °*kaṇṭhe* is inserted by a later hand.

[4] I translate the text of the Bombay edition, the list in which is nearly identical with that of Arisiṁha. The list as given in Bühler, MS. 296 (*a*), is nearly identical with that of A and B given in the Appendix to the Bombay edition (see Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 9, note 1). For the chronology of this dynasty I would beg to refer to p. 282 of the Chronology of India, by C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers).

he kept silence, and did not extend to them any welcome, or any kind of civility. Prince Kṣemarāja, having made over all that wealth to the king, asked him whether their deed was honourable or dishonourable. Then the king said, "If I were to say that it was honourable, I should be guilty of the crime of stealing my neighbour's goods, if I were to say that it was dishonourable, I should produce a feeling of irritation in your mind.[1] Therefore I have come to the conclusion that silence is the preferable course. Now let me tell you why I forbade you to carry off the property of your neighbour, when you first asked me. When in foreign countries, kings praise the government of all sovereigns, they say scornfully that in the land of Gujarāt there is a government of robbers. When we are informed of this and similar facts by our representatives[2] in their reports, we are afflicted, because we do to a certain extent feel despondent on account of our ancestors. If this reproach attaching to our ancestors could be forgotten in the hearts of all men, then we also might attain the title of kings in all gatherings of sovereigns. But now, you princes, being greedy of a trifling gain, have furbished up anew[3] that reproach of our ancestors." Then the king brought out his own bow from the armoury, and said, "Let whichever among you is a strong man, bend this bow!" When he had given this order, they all tried in succession with all their might, but not one of them was able to bend it. Thereupon the king strung it with ease,[4] and said,—

"Disobeying the order of kings, cutting off the salary of dependents,
And deserting the society of wives, is called killing without weapons.[5]

"It follows that, according to this teaching of the treatises on policy, you, my sons, are killing me without weapons,[6] so what punishment will meet your case?" Then the king starved himself, and ascended the funeral pyre after one hundred and twenty years had been accomplished.[7] This king built the temple of the goddess Yogīçvarī. The reign of Yogarāja lasted for 17 years, 1 month and 1 day, as it came to an end in the 878th year of the era of Vikramāditya, on the 4th day of the white fort-

[1] I find in *a*, *cetaḥsu*, in your minds.

[2] Here *a* gives *sthānapuruṣaiḥ*. This word occurs frequently in the Cintāmaṇi. The officers denoted by it seem to have been very like consuls.

[3] I read *unmṛjya* which I find in *a* and P. This appears to be the reading which Forbes followed.

[4] It is strange that Forbes should omit this incident, which reminds us of Rāma and Ulysses.

[5] This couplet is No. 876 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, but there the second Pāda is *brāhmaṇānām anādaraḥ*.

[6] P and *a* insert *ājñābhaṅgād*, by disobeying my orders.

[7] The chronology of the text seems to be defective, but I give it, as I find it in the edition of Dīnānātha. He is evidently dissatisfied with some of the dates given in his text.

night of the month Çrāvaṇa. In the 878th year of the same era, on the 5th day of the white fortnight of the month Çrāvaṇa, in the *nakṣatra* of Uttarāṣāḍha, in the *lagna* of Sagittarius, Ratnāditya's coronation took place. His reign came to an end in V.S.[1] 881, on the 9th day of the white fortnight of Kārtika, so this king reigned 3 years, 3 months and 4 days.[2] In V.S. 898, on the 13th day of the white fortnight of Jyeṣṭha, on a Saturday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta, in the *lagna* of Leo, the coronation of king Kṣemarāja took place. That king's reign came to an end in V.S. 922, on Sunday the 15th day of the white fortnight of Bhādrapada, after it had lasted for 38 years, 3 months and 10 days. The coronation of king Cāmuṇḍarāja took place in V.S. 935, on Monday the first day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, in the *nakṣatra* of Rohiṇī, in the *lagna* of Aquarius. His reign came to an end in V.S. 938, on a Monday, the 3rd day in the black fortnight of Māgha, and so that king reigned 13 years, 4 months and 16 days. King Ākaḍadeva ascended the throne in V.S. 938, on the 14th day of the black fortnight of Māgha, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Svāti, in the *lagna* of Leo. This monarch caused to be built in the city of Karkarā the temple of Ākaḍeçvarī and Kaṇṭheçvarī. His reign came to an end in V.S. 965, on the 9th day of the white fortnight of Pauṣa, being a Wednesday, and so he reigned 26 years, 1 month and 20 days. Bhūyagaḍadeva came to the throne in V.S. 990, on the 10th day of the white fortnight of Pauṣa, on a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Ārdrā, in the *lagna* of Aquarius. This king made the temple of Bhūyagaḍeçvara in Pattana and a rampart. His reign came to an end in V.S. 991, on the 15th day of the white fortnight of Āṣāḍha, and so he reigned 27 years, 6 months and 5 days. So there were seven kings of the Cāpotkaṭa dynasty, and their reigns extended over 190 years, 2 months and 7 days.[3]

The elephants are ill to take service with, the mountains have lost their
wings,

[1] V.S. stands for the era of Vikramāditya. In P I find only the figure 8. In other cases also that MS. gives only one figure.

[2] The text does not give the number of days.

[3] I now give for the purpose of comparison a translation of the list as given in the Appendix from MSS. A B. This agrees almost exactly with that of MS. No. 296 (*a*).

"This king reigned 35 years Kṣemarāja's reign began in V.S. 897, and he reigned 25 years. Bhūyaḍa's reign began in V.S. 922, and he reigned 29 years. He caused to be built the temple of Bhūyaḍeçvara in Pattana. In V.S. 951 Vairisiṁha began to reign, and he reigned 25 years. In V.S. 976 Ratnāditya began to reign, and he reigned 15 years. In V.S. 991 Sāmantasiṁha began to reign, and he reigned 7 years. So there were seven kings of the Cāpotkaṭa race, and they came to an end in V.S. 998." The passage continues as in the printed text, but the verses are omitted, and the three brothers are made to return from pilgrimage during the reign of Sāmantasiṃha, instead of during the reign of Bhūyaḍadeva. So also in MS. 296 (*a*).

The tortoise is a "laggard in love" of his friends, and this lord of the snakes is double-tongued;
The Creator considering all this, produced, for the support of the earth,
From the mouthful of water sipped at the evening ceremony, a brave warrior with waving sword-blade.[1]

Then three brothers by the same mother, sons of Muñjāladeva, of the family of King Bhūyagaḍa, previously mentioned, named Rāja, Bīja and Daṇḍaka, went on a pilgrimage to Somanātha, and paid their adorations to him, and on their return were looking at King Bhūyaḍadeva, while engaged in the amusement of the *manège*.[2] When the king gave the horse a stroke with the whip, the Kṣatriya named Rāja, who was dressed as a pilgrim, was annoyed with that cut, which was given inopportunely. He shook his head, and said, "Alas! Alas!" When the king asked him the reason of his behaviour, he praised the particular pace performed by the horse, considering it not inappropriate, and said, "When you gave the horse a cut with the whip, you made my heart bleed." The king was astonished at that speech of his, and made over to him the horse to drive. He, seeing that the horse and groom were equally well-trained,[3] praised them at every step. That conduct on his part made the king think that he was of high birth, so he gave him his sister, called Līlādevī. After some time had elapsed from the beginning of her pregnancy, the lady died suddenly, and the ministers reflecting that if they did not take some steps the child would die also, performed the cæsarian[4] operation, and took the child out of her body. Because he was born under the *nakṣatra* Mūla, he gained the name of Mūlarāja. By his general popularity, due to his being resplendent as the newly-risen sun, and by his valour, he extended the sway of his maternal uncle. Under these circumstances, king Bhūyaḍa,[5] when intoxicated, used to have him crowned king, and used again to depose him when he became sober.[6] From that time forth a "Cāpotkata's gift" has

[1] In these lines Caulukya, the name of the dynasty, is derived from *culuka*. The elephants, the tortoise, and the king of the snakes support the earth. The mountains had their wings clipped by Indra. But the word "wing" also means "party, following." Mountains, as well as kings, are spoken of as "earth-supporters." The word *mātaṅga*, which means "elephant," also denotes a Caṇḍāla, or man of the lowest caste. Such people are ordained to serve, not to keep servants.

[2] Bühler (Antiquary, Vol. VI. p. 181) rejects this story as an invention of the bards. The chronological difficulties are enormous. See also Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 10. Generally the king is called in the text Bhūyagaḍa, but here Bhūyaḍa.

[3] I find in *a*, *sadṛçayogyatāṁ*.

[4] Thus this heroic king was *exsectus jam matre peremptā*, like Macduff.

[5] According to A and *a*, Sāmantasiṁha.

[6] I find in P, *madamattena sāṁrājye 'bhiṣicyate amattenotthāpyate ca*. This I have translated. Forbes (R.M. p. 37) describes the transaction in the following words, "When he was arrived at mature age, Sāmant Singh, in a fit of drunkenness, caused the ceremony of his inauguration to be performed, but no sooner had the king recovered his senses, than he revoked his abdication of the throne. 'From

become a proverbial jest. Being disappointed [1] every day in this way, he made ready his followers, and having been placed on the throne by his uncle when not master of himself, he killed him, and became king in reality. In the year 993 V.S., on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha, being a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Açvinī, in the *lagna* of Leo, at twelve o'clock in the night, in the twenty-first year from his birth, Mūlarāja was crowned [2] king.

On a certain occasion, the king of the country of Sapādalakṣa [3] came to the border [4] of the land of Gujarāt to attack Mūlarāja. At the very same time arrived Bārava, the general of the monarch that ruled over the Tilaṇga country.[5] King Mūlarāja, in deliberation with his ministers, laid before them the probability that, while he was fighting with one enemy the other would attack him in the rear. They said to him, "If you throw yourself into the fort of Kanthā,[6] and tide over some days, when the Navarātra [7] festival comes, the king of Sapādalakṣa will go to his capital of Çākambharī to worship his family goddess. In that interval we will conquer the general named Bārava,[8] and after him the king of Sapādalakṣa also." When he heard this advice of the ministers, the king said, "Will not the disgrace of running away attach to me in the world?" But they said,—

"That the ram retires, the reason is that he may butt,
The lion also, in wrath,[9] contracts his body, eager for the spring,
With enmity hid in their hearts, employing secret counsels,
The wise endure anything, making it of little account." [10]

Persuaded by this speech of theirs, Mūlarāja threw himself into the fort of Kanthā. The king of Sapādalakṣa passed the rainy season in the country of Gujarāt, and when the Navarātra came on, he planted the city of Çākambharī on the very ground where his camp stood, and having brought his family goddess to the spot, began the Navarātra festival there. Mūlarāja, hearing of that occurrence, perceived that his ministers were men of no resource, and developing in that crisis great intellectual

that time,' says the Jaina annalist, 'the valuelessness of the gift made by a Cāpotkaṭa became proverbial.'"

[1] I find in *a*, *viḍambyamāno*.

[2] I regard *abhiṣeka* as practically equivalent to the European ceremony of coronation.

[3] Eastern Rājputānā (Bühler's H.C. p. 26). The name probably means "one lakh and a quarter of villages or towns."

[4] *Sandhau*. But *a* gives *sannidhau*.

[5] The Cālukya sovereign of Kalyāṇa. For *tadyaugapadyena*, *a* gives *tadyogapaṭṭena*.

[6] The modern Kanthkoṭ in the eastern (Vāgaḍ) division of Kach.

[7] See Rās Mālā, p. 612. The word means, of course, nine nights.

[8] Also called Bārapa and Bāraṣa.

[9] P gives *atikopāt*, in great wrath.

[10] No. 5179 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. It is found in the Pañcatantra. Böhtlingk reads *hṛdayanihitabhāvā*.

brightness, he proceeded to compose a state paper,[1] and summoned by a royal rescript all the neighbouring feudal lords, and by the mouth of the Pañcakula, who was secured by spending money on a fictitious account,[2] he appealed to all the Rajputs and foot soldiers by pointing to the noble deeds of their families, and won them over by suitable gifts and other attentions. Then he informed them of the time agreed upon, and placed them all near the camp of the king of the Sapādalakṣa country. On the day fixed, Mūlarāja mounted a splendid female camel, and with its keeper traversed a great tract of country, and in the early morning unexpectedly entered the camp of the Sapādalakṣa king, and dismounting from the camel alone, sword in hand, said to the king's doorkeeper, "Is the king at leisure at present? Inform your master that king Mūlarāja is entering the royal door." And with these words he pushed the servant away from the neighbourhood of the door with a blow of his strong arm, and himself entered the royal pavilion[3] at the very moment that the doorkeeper was saying, "Here is king Mūlarāja entering at the door," and sat down on the king's bed. The king, beside himself with fear, kept silence for a moment, and then shaking off his terror to a certain extent, he said, "Are you really king Mūlarāja?" Mūlarāja said in clear tones, "Yes." The Sapādalakṣa king, hearing this utterance, was proceeding to make some remark suitable to the occasion, when those soldiers with whom it had been previously arranged, four thousand in number, surrounded that pavilion. Then Mūlarāja said to that king, "When I was reflecting whether on this terrestrial globe there was any king heroic enough to stand against me in battle or not, you arrived exactly in accordance with my wishes. But as flies alight in swarms at meal-time, this general of the king of the land of Tilaṅga, who is named Tailapa, has come to conquer me, so I have come here to ask you to abstain from attacking me in the rear, and similar operations, while I am engaged in chastising him." When Mūlarāja had said this, the king replied, "Since you, though a sovereign, are so careless of your life as to enter thus alone the dwelling of your enemy, like a common soldier, I will make peace with you until the end of my life." When the Sapādalakṣa monarch said this, Mūlarāja rejected his overtures, saying, "Do not speak thus," and when invited to take food he refused the invitation out of contempt. He rose up, grasping his sword in his hand, and mounting that female camel, surrounded by that very body of troops, he fell upon the camp of the general Bārava. He killed him, and captured his horses, ten thousand in number, and eighteen elephants, and while

[1] Perhaps we ought to read *rāja°* with *a* and B for *rājā*.
[2] Here *a* has *kṣūṇalekhaka*.
[3] *Gurūdara*. The word occurs frequently in this book, and its meaning is self-evident.

he was encamping, the Sapādalakṣa king, having been informed of this fact by his spies, took to flight. That king caused to be built the *vasahikā* [1] of Mūlarāja in Pattana, and the temple of Muñjāladevasvāmin. Moreover, he went continually every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someçvarapattana [2] out of devotion to the god Çiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that, after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍalī. The king caused to be built there the Mūleçvara temple, and as he went there every day in the ecstasy of his devotional fervour, the god Someçvara was so much pleased with the zeal of his worshipper, that he said, "I will come to your capital and bring the sea with me," and thereupon he manifested himself in Aṇahillapura.[3] As a proof that the sea had come with him, all the waters in all the reservoirs in that city became brackish. The king caused to be built in that city the Tripuruṣa temple. Then while he was looking out for an ascetic, who would be a fitting superintendent of that temple, he heard of an ascetic named Kanthaḍi, on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, who, in taking nourishment after an Ekāntara [4] fast, was living on five mouthfuls of food not specially set apart for him. When the king went there to pay him his respects, the ascetic, who was suffering from a tertian[5] ague, transferred the ague to his patched garment. The king observing that, asked him how it came to pass that the garment trembled. The ascetic replied that he had transferred the ague to it, as otherwise he could not talk to the king. Thereupon the king said, "If you possess such power, why do you not get rid of the fever altogether?" Then the ascetic repeated the following distich from the Çivapurāṇa,—

Let my diseases come upon me, whatever they may be, that were earned in previous lives,
I wish to go clear of debt to that supreme place of Çiva.

He then went on to say, "As I know that action, the consequences of which have not been endured, is not exhausted,[6] how can I dismiss this fever?" When he said this, the king asked him to accept the office of superintendent of the Tripuruṣa religious foundation. But the ascetic

[1] This word denotes an aggregate of buildings, including a temple and monastery, and corresponds to the term *basti*, i.e. *vasati*, used by the Digambaras. (Buhler, H.C. p. 57.)

[2] I here follow the reading of *a* and P, *Çrīsomeçvarapattane*. Hofrath Bühler has some remarks on this "absurd story" in his Arisiṁha, p. 10. Of course the author uses Someçvara and Somanātha indifferently.

[3] The modern name is Aṇhilwāḍ.

[4] Professor Leumann informs me that I am justified in taking this to mean "fasting every other day."

[5] In P the word *tṛtīya* is inserted above the line by a later hand.

[6] MS. No. 296 (*a*) has the full quotation, "Action, the consequences of which have not been endured, is not exhausted even in hundreds of crores of *kalpas*; we must of necessity suffer the consequences of the deeds that we have done, whether they be good, or whether they be evil."

refused in the following words, "Since I know the maxim of the Smṛti, which runs as follows,—

By holding office for three months, by being abbot of a monastery for three days, hell is certain ;
But if you wish to merit hell quickly, you have only to be a king's domestic chaplain [1] for one day :

why should I, who have crossed the ocean of mundane existence in the boat of ascetism, be drowned in a puddle ?" [2] After this refusal, the king had a copper grant prepared and baked up in pastry, and gave it him in the hollow of a leaf, when he came to beg. He returned from the palace ignorant of that fact. Though the river Sarasvatī had let him pass before, it was now in flood, and would not let him pass. He therefore began to think over his sins from the time of his birth, and at last to look carefully in order to find out if there was anything wrong with the food which he had just begged, and lo ! his eye fell on the copper grant. Afterwards the king, knowing that the ascetic was angry, came to visit him, and while he was making deferential speeches to propitiate him, the ascetic observing that, as he must have taken the copper grant with his right hand, it could not be null and void, made over to the king his pupil, named Vayajalladeva. That Vayajalladeva said, "If you will give me every day for the rubbing and cleansing of my body eight *palas* of genuine saffron and four *palas* of musk, and one *pala* of camphor, and if you will also give me thirty-two women, and a white umbrella with a grant of land,[3] I will then accept the office of superintendent." The king agreed to all his conditions, and so he was installed in the office of chief of ascetics in the Tripuruṣa religious house. He became known by the name of Kaŋkaraula. Though he enjoyed luxuries in this style, he lived in unblemished chastity. Once on a time Mūlarāja's wife proceeded to test his chastity at night. He made her a leper by striking her with betel, but on being propitiated, he restored her to health by having her rubbed with the unguents with which he anointed himself, and washed in the water that he had used for bathing.[4]

[1] Perhaps there is an allusion to the fact that a king's domestic chaplain must be acquainted with sorcery. See Maurice Bloomfield's Introduction to the Hymns of the Atharva Veda, pp. xlvi., xlix. and lxi.

[2] Literally, "enough water to fill the hole made by a cow's foot." Cowell and Thomas (Harṣa Carita, p. 169), compare the use of *βοὸς ὁπλὴν* in Hesiod's Works and Days, 489.

[3] MSS. A, B, and P read *grāsasahitaṁ*, which means "with a grant of land." Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 186) expressly says so. It appears that the word *grās* was at this time exclusively appropriated to religious grants, and Forbes refers to this particular instance. It is absurd to suppose that this luxurious gentleman would have been satisfied with one village. I therefore follow the MSS.

[4] This is a translation of the reading given by *a* and P, which runs as follows,— *nijodvartanavilepanāt snānocchiṣtapayaḥ-prakṣālanācca.*

/

Now follows the story of the birth and death [1] of Lākhāka.

Long ago, in a certain Paramāra family, there was a king called Kīrtirāja, who had a daughter named Kāmalatā. Once on a time, in her childhood, as she was playing with her female friends in front of a certain temple, they said to her, "Choose a bridegroom." [2] That Kāmalatā, having her sight dimmed with terrible darkness, chose a neatherd named Phulaḍa,[3] who was concealed by a pillar of the temple. Having chosen him without knowing exactly what she was doing, though she was subsequently during many years offered to many distinguished bridegrooms, yet she craved the permission of her parents to carry out her vow of fidelity to her first love, and owing to her persistency, succeeded in marrying him. Their son was Lāṣāka: he was the king of Kaccha, and owing to the boon of Yaçorāja, whom he had propitiated, he was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of king Mūlarāja. On one occasion, Lāṣāka, while in the fortress of Kapilakoṭi, was besieged by king Mūlarāja in person. Thereupon he [4] kept waiting for the return of a follower named Māheca, a man of great courage, whom he had sent to attack some place or other. Mūlarāja, having ascertained that fact, occupied all the avenues by which Māheca could return, and as he was coming back, having accomplished the errand on which he was sent, he was summoned by the king's soldiers to surrender his weapon. In order to aid the cause of his master, he did so, and going into the presence of Lāṣāka, he prostrated himself before him. Then, when the time of battle came, Lāṣāka uttered many words of wisdom, such as the following,—

"In the place where he was not warmed with courage the contemptible Lakṣa says,
'When you sum up the days, how many are gained? Ten, perhaps, or eight;'"

and having his valour stimulated by beholding the magnanimous behaviour of his follower Māheca,[5] he engaged in a single combat with Mūlarāja. Mūlarāja, after three days' fight, considering that his foe was invincible, called to mind Someçvara, and a portion of Rudra came from that god and slew Lakṣa. Then, Lakṣa having fallen on the field of battle, king

[1] I read *vipatti°* for *vipratipatti°*. This king is afterwards called Lakṣa and Lāṣāka. But *ṣ* and *kh* are frequently interchanged in MSS.

[2] In the original "Choose ye bridegrooms." The plural may be used out of deference, or perhaps the words were addressed to all present, though this does not quite agree with the text.

[3] In *a* and P I find Phūlaḍa.

[4] In the original "that *Lakṣa*."

[5] I read with *a*, *Māhicabhṛtyodbhaṭavṛttidarçanena*. I find the same reading in P, but *Māhicā* for *Māhica*.

The text perhaps means "by his follower M. by exhibiting magnanimous behaviour."

Mūlarāja touched with his foot the beard of his foe, which was waving in the wind, and was cursed by Lakṣa's mother in the following words, "Your race shall be afflicted with the disease of leprosy." [1]

Who made a sacrifice of Lakṣa in the fire of his valour,
And so put an end to the drought, which withheld the tears of his wives,
Who killed the Lakṣa of Kaccha,[2] when he rushed inconsiderately into an overlong net,
And so showed a fisherman's skill in the midst of the sea of battle.

Here ends the story of the birth and death of Lāṣāka.

The creeper of generosity first sprang up in the earth in Bali,[3] who conquered the mighty;
It fixed its roots firmly in Dadhīci; [4] in Rāma it put forth shoots;
In the child of the sun [5] it spread into great and small branches; owing to Nāgārjuna [6] it budded a little;
In Vikramāditya it blossomed; but in thy generous self, O Mūlarāja, it was covered with fruits from its root.
The palaces of your enemies, bathed in the rainy season with the waters from the clouds,
Having taken, as it were, bundles of *kuça* in the form of tufts of bent-grass that grow on them,
Having given the prescribed handfuls of water by means of the gushings from their spouts, seem in the masses of masonry that fall from their walls,
To be performing every day the ceremony of offering funeral-cakes to the ghosts of their [7] dead lords.

So this king enjoyed a reign free from enemies for fifty-five years. Once on a time, immediately after the evening ceremony of waving lights, the king gave some betel to the servant, and he, on receiving it in the palms

[1] *Lūtiroga*. See Forbes, Rās Mālā, p. 44. Monier-Williams tells us that *lūtā* means spider and a cutaneous disease produced by its poison.
[2] Or "a hundred thousand turtles."
[3] He gave heaven and earth to Viṣṇu, who appeared before him as a dwarf.
[4] He devoted himself to death, in order that his bones might be forged into the thunderbolt with which Indra slew Vṛtra.
[5] Karṇa. "Indra disguised himself as a Brahman and cajoled him out of his divine cuirass." (Dowson, Dictionary of Indian Mythology, p. 150.)
[6] He gave away his head a hundred times. Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Vol. 1. pp. 376-378.
[7] Literally "to the ghost" (*pretāya*). Professor Hillebrandt informs us (Ritual Litteratur, p. 90) that the soul of the dead man does not enter at once the world of the Manes, but remains for a certain time as *preta* separated from them. To this single dead person the *ekoddiṣṭaçrāddha* is offered. For this ceremony only purifying grass, a pitcher of Arghya water and a ball of meal are required.

of his hands, perceived worms in it. Hearing of that circumstance the king was seized with a desire for asceticism, and determined to abandon the world, and applied fire to the toe of his right foot, and performing the great gifts, such as the bestowal of elephants and so on, through a period of eight days

> Submissive to discipline only, he endured clinging to his foot
> A fire, with its smoke streaming up like hair;
> Why mention any other brave warrior in comparison with him?
> Since[1] he pierced even the circle of the sun.[2]

Being praised with this and other panegyrics of the kind, he ascended to heaven.

Then in 1050 V.S.[3] on the 11th day of the white fortnight of Çrāvaṇa, being a Friday, in the *nakṣatra* of Puṣya, in the *lagna* of Taurus, king Cāmuṇḍa ascended the throne. He caused to be built in Pattana the temple of the god Candanātha and the god Cāciṇeçvara. His reign came to an end in V.S. 1055, on the 5th day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, on a Monday. He reigned for thirteen years, one month, and twenty-four days. In 1065 V.S. on the 6th day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Jyeṣṭhā, in the *lagna* of Gemini, king Vallabharāja assumed the sovereignty. That king, after investing the fortifications of Dhārā, in the country of Mālava, died of smallpox.[4] He acquired two titles, "Subduer of kings, as Çiva subdued the god of Love,"[5] and "Shaker of the world." In 1065 V.S., on the 5th day of the white fortnight of Caitra, his reign came to an end, so he reigned five months and twenty-nine days. In 1065 V.S., on the 6th day of the white fortnight of Caitra, being a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Uttarāṣāḍha, in the *lagna* of Capricorn, his brother, named Durlabharāja, was crowned king. He caused to be built in Pattana a palace with seven storeys, with a disbursement office, and an elephant-stable, and a clock-tower. Moreover, he had built for the welfare of the soul of his brother Vallabharāja the temple of Madanaçaṇkara, and he also had the tank of Durlabha excavated. He reigned twelve years in this fashion, and at the end of that time he established on the throne the son of his brother, who was called Bhīma.

[1] For *kā yad°*, *a* reads *kācid*. The Bombay text seems to require *saḥ* for *yaḥ*.

[2] Cp. Harṣa Carita translated by Cowell and Thomas, note 3 on page 5, and note 1 on page 34.

[3] I translate the figures given in the printed text. The editor would substitute 1052 for 1050. P gives only 50.

[4] *Çīlīrogena*. See Forbes, Rās Mālā, p. 52.

[5] Here I read *rājamadanaçaṇkara*. (See Appendix to the Bombay edition.) But as this king was very chaste (Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 11) and as a temple of Madanaçaṇkara was built for his spiritual benefit, perhaps the *rāja°* is superfluous. P supports the printed text.

This took place in 1077 V.S., on the 12th day of the white fortnight of Jyeṣṭha, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Açvinī, in the *lagna* of Capricorn. Being himself desirous of travelling to Benares, as he longed to perform his devotions[1] in a holy place, he reached the country of Mālava. There he was called upon by king Muñja to give up the umbrella and chowries and the other insignia of royalty, and to continue his journey in the dress of a pilgrim, or to fight his way through. When this message was delivered to him, he perceived that an obstacle to his religious resolutions had arisen in his path, and after impressing the circumstance in the strongest way on king Bhīma, he went to the holy place in the dress of a pilgrim and gained paradise. From that day forth there was rooted enmity between the kings of Gujarāt and Mālava. Now we will relate, as follows, the history of king Muñja, the ornament of the country of Mālava, which presents itself naturally to our consideration at this point.[2]

## The History of King Muñja.

Long ago in that very country of Mālava, a king named Siṁhadantabhaṭa, of the race of Paramāra,[3] as he was roaming about on his royal circuit, saw in the midst of a thicket of reeds a certain male child of exceeding beauty, that had been just born. He took it up as lovingly as if it were his own son, and made it over to his queen. The child's name was called Muñja[4] with reference to his origin. After that, a son was born to the king, named Sīndhala. As Muñja was attractive by uniting in himself all good qualities, the king wished to crown him king, and visited his palace for

[1] Or according to the reading of *a*, "to fast."

[2] I now proceed to translate the account of these kings given in the Appendix from A and B. It agrees pretty closely with the readings of Bühler's 296, which I call *a*.

"Then Mūlarāja ruled for fifty-five years, as his reign began in 998 V.S. So far the history of Mūlarāja. The reign of king Cāmuṇḍa began in 1053 V.S. and continued thirteen years. Then Vallabharāja began to reign in 1066 V.S., and reigned for six months. Then in 1066 V.S. Durlabharāja came to the throne and reigned eleven years and six months. [Then that king acquired the two titles of Rājamadanaçaṇkara and Jagajjhampana.—B.] That king made the tank of Durlabha in the city of Pattana. Afterwards, he placed on the throne his own son named Bhīma." Arisiṁha tells us (Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 11) that Vallabha was called Jagajjhampana. Whatever may be thought of the reason assigned for the enmity between the Paramāras of Mālava and the Caulukyas of Gujarāt, there can be no doubt that it existed. Bühler thinks that it was due to a race-feud, and the natural tendency to expansion of the two kingdoms. (Navasāhasāṇkacarita, p. 47.)

[3] See the Navasāhasāṇkacarita by Bühler and Zachariæ, pp. 28, 29, 36, 37. Paramāra, the Heros eponymos of this race, is said to have sprung from the flame of Vaçiṣṭha's sacrifice on Mount Abu. Siṁhadantabhaṭa is probably identical with the Sīyaka of Padmagupta (op. cit. p. 39).

[4] Muñja and Çara are said to be names for the Saccharum Sara. Bühler and Zachariæ (op. cit. p. 40) reject the legend that Muñja was a foundling as unhistorical. Muñja was also called Vākpatirāja II., Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvīvallabha, and Çrīvallabha.

that purpose. Muñja, out of excessive bashfulness, hid his wife behind a cane sofa,[1] and politely received the king with the customary prostration. The king, seeing that that place was apparently private, told him of the circumstances of his origin from the beginning, and said, "I am so pleased with your devotion to me that I mean to pass over my son, and bestow the kingdom on you, but you must live on good terms with this brother of yours named Sīndhala." Having given him this caution, he performed the ceremony of his coronation. Muñja, fearing that the story of his origin would get abroad, went so far as to kill his own wife. Then he conquered the earth by his valour, and for a long time enjoyed pleasures, while the great minister named Rudrāditya, a very prince of good men, looked after the affairs of his kingdom. During this stage of his life, he was devoted to a certain lady, and he used to mount a camel named Cirikalla, and travel twelve *yojanas*, and return in a night. When he broke off his *liaison* with her, she sent him this *dodhaka* verse,—

> Muñja, the rope has fallen; you do not see it, mean wretch,
> The clouds of Āṣāḍha are roaring, the ground will now be slimy.[2]

That brother, named Sīndhala, out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sīndhala came to Gujarāt, and established his settlement[3] in the neighbourhood of the city of Kāçahrada.[4]

Once, on the Dīwālī festival, he went out to hunt at night. He saw a boar roaming near a place where a thief had been put to death, and not observing that the corpse of the thief had fallen down from the stake on which he had been impaled, he pressed it down with his knee, and proceeded to aim an arrow at the boar. Thereupon that corpse called to him. He prevented it from touching his hand, and having pierced the boar with an arrow, was drawing it towards him, when the corpse rose up, uttering a loud laugh. Sīndhala said to it, "When you called to me, was it better that I should hit the boar, or attend to you and not hit the boar?"[5] When he had finished his speech, that ghost, which was seeking occasion against him, was so pleased with his boundless daring that it said,[6] "Ask a boon from me." Sīndhala requested that his shaft might never fall useless to

[1] I give what seems to be the sense, neglecting grammar. From this point I am able to use Bühler's MS., No. 297, which I shall call β.

[2] This *gāthā* is added by a later hand in P. It is not found in α and β. For *na*, P gives *jai*.

[3] *Pallī*.

[4] The modern Kāsandra or Kāsandhra. (See Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 25.)

[5] I read *avabudhya madadattaḥ prahāra iti*. I find in α, *avabudhya madattaḥ*. P has *avabudhya matpradattaḥ prahāraḥ*, which may be translated "or attend to you and let the boar strike me."

[6] I find in α and β, *ityabhihite*.

the earth. But the ghost then ordered him to ask another boon. When he heard that, he said, "May all fortune be in the power of my two arms!" That ghost, astonished at his daring, said to him, "You must go to the country of Mālava. There king Muñja's destruction is drawing near, but you must go all the same; there the sceptre shall be in your line." Being thus sent by the ghost, he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district, which brought him in revenue; but again displaying haughtiness, he had his eyes put out by Muñja, and was confined in a wooden cage.[1] He begot a son named Bhoja.

Bhoja studied all the treatises on king-craft, and learnt the use of thirty-six weapons, and attained the further shore of the ocean of seventy-two accomplishments, and grew up distinguished by all the auspicious marks. At his birth, a certain astrologer, skilled in calculating nativities, gave in the following horoscope,—

> For fifty-five years, seven months, and three days
> King Bhoja is destined to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa.

When Muñja learnt the meaning of these lines, he feared that, if Bhoja lived, his son would not inherit the kingdom, so he made over Bhoja to some men of the lowest caste, to be put to death.[2] Then, at night, they perceiving that his form was conspicuous for beauty, felt pity for him, and trembled, and said to him, "Call to mind your favourite deity." Then he wrote on a leaf the following stanza:—

Māndhātṛ, that lord of earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed away;
Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, who made the bridge over the ocean?
And many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, ending with thee,[3] O king;
Not with one of them did the earth pass away: I suppose, it will pass away with thee.

[1] So far from this being true it appears that Sīndhula or Sindhurāja, as he is also called, ruled over Mālava for a long time. (Bühler and Zachariæ, Navasāhasāṅkacarita, p. 45.) Sīndhula was called Navasāhasāṅka, because he undertook hundreds of daring deeds. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja. Our author uses throughout the form Sīndhala.

[2] This story of the wicked uncle Muñja is now disproved. (Bühler and Zachariæ, Navasāhasāṅkacarita, p. 50.)

[3] I find in *a*, "*cāstaṁ gatā*," instead of "*yāvad bhavān*." The rendering will therefore be, "Many other sovereigns, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, have perished." This is the reading followed by Forbes. (See Rās Mālā, p. 65.) The stanza, as in the Bombay printed text, is No. 4831 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He refers it to the Subhāṣitārṇava.

This stanza he sent to the king by the hand of the executioners. When the king saw it, his mind was filled with regret, and he shed tears, and blamed himself as equal in guilt to the slayer of an embryo. Then the king had Bhoja brought by them with great respect, and honoured him with the dignity of crown-prince. Then as the king of the Tiliŋga country, named Tailapadeva,[1] harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country, he determined to march against him, though his prime minister Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition, and not to advance beyond it, but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered him six times before; so in his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side. When Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some misfortune would result from his headstrong conduct, and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces, and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed.[2] He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood, and waited upon by Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, with whom he formed a marriage union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently,[3] dug a tunnel to where he was, and made an appointment with him. Once on a time, as he was looking at his own reflection in a mirror, Mṛṇālavatī came up behind him, without his being aware what she was going to do, and seeing in the mirror the reflection of her own face wrinkled[4] with old age near the face of the youthful Muñja, she was despondent on account of its extreme want of brightness. Muñja, perceiving this, addressed her in the following couplet,—

Muñja says, O Mṛṇālavatī, do not regret your vanished youth,
Though the sugar has been pounded into a hundred fragments, still its powder is sweet.

After addressing her in these words, he was eager to start for his own country, but unable to endure separation from her, and yet afraid to tell her the facts; and though she spoke to him again and again, he would not reveal the cause of his perturbation. She gave him food[5] without salt to

[1] This was Tailapa II. of Kalyāṇa. (See the Navasāhasāŋkacarita by Bühler and Zachariæ, pp. 43, 44.) Rudrāditya was really the minister of Muñja or Vākpatirāja II., as he is mentioned in his Çāsana of 979 A.D. Muñja's death took place in one of the three years 994-96.
[2] *Muñja.*
[3] I owe this interpretation of *pāçcātyair°* to Hofrath Bühler. On page 153 of the printed text *pāçcātyāni* means "that were left behind."
[4] *Jarjara* means literally "broken," which sense harmonizes with the expressions used in the couplet that follows.
[5] *Rasavatī.* According to the Kathā Koça, Nala was celebrated for his skill in preparing this dish.

eat, and food with too much salt, but he did not seem to recognize any difference in the taste, so she questioned him lovingly with a voice persistently charming, and at last he said, "I am about to escape by this tunnel to my own country; if you will come there, I will crown you as my queen consort, and show you the fruit of my favour." When he said this, she answered, "Wait a minute, while I fetch a casket of jewels." But she said to herself, "As I am a middle-aged widow,[1] when he reaches his own kingdom, he will cast me off"; so she went and told the whole story to her brother the king, and then, in order to expose him to special scorn, had him bound with cords, and taken about to beg from house to house. As he was going round to the various houses, being full of despondency, he uttered the following speeches[2]:—

Those men are terribly grieved in their hearts, who confide in a woman,
Who, to captivate all minds, speaks courteously with words of love.
Burnt and broken why did I not die? why did I not become a heap of ashes?
Muñja wanders about, tied with a string like a monkey.

And such as these:—

I have lost my elephants and chariots, I have lost my horses; I have lost my footmen, servants have I none;
So, Rudrâditya, sitting in heaven, invite me eager to join you.

Then, on another day, he was taken to the house of a certain householder to beg. The householder's wife, seeing him with a little pot[3] in his hand, made him drink buttermilk and water, but, having her neck uplifted with pride, forbade food to be given to him when he begged, so Muñja said to her,—

Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand,
Muñja has lost fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.
Do not be distressed, O monkey,[4] that I was ruined by her:
Who have not been ruined by women, Rāma, Ravaṇa, Muñja, and others?
Do not weep, O my jailor, that I have been made to wander by her,
Only by casting a sidelong glance, much more, when she drew me by the hand.
If I had had at first that discretion, which was produced too late,
Says Muñja, O Mṛṇālavatī, no one would have cast an obstacle in my path.

[1] I read *kātyāyanīṁ* with *α* and *β*.
[2] I translate the printed text, which omits many Prakrit verses contained in *α*.
[3] P and *α* give *paḍukapāṇi*.
[4] I take *maŋkaḍa* to be a Prākrit form for *markaṭa;* but P gives *maṇḍaka*.

Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of Avanti,
That creature who was long ago produced as the dwelling-place of Sarasvatī,
He has been captured by the lord of Karṇāṭa, owing to the wisdom of his ministers,
And has been impaled on a stake: alas! perplexing are the results of Karma.
Daçaratha, friend of the king of the gods, father of a portion of the might of the genius that issued from the sacrifice,[1]
Perished on his bed, out of sorrow for separation from his son Rāma.
The body of that king was placed in a cask of boiling oil,[2]
And his funeral took place after a long time: alas! perplexing are the results of Karma.
O man, bewildered with the darkness of wealth, why do you laugh at the man fallen into calamity?
What is there strange in the fact that Fortune is not constant?
Do you not see that in the water-wheel for irrigating fields
The empty buckets become full and the full buckets empty?[3]
His ornament is a terrible human skull;
His retinue Bhṛŋgin of shrivelled frame, and his wealth one aged bull;
When this is the condition even of Çiva, the chief of all the gods,
Of what account, pray, are we poor wretches, when once adverse fortune has stood on our heads?
The sea for a moat! Laŋkā for a fortress! its commander the ten-headed king![4]
When his fortunes fell, all that fell: do not despair, O Muñja.

After they had led him about in this way to beg for a long time, they took him, by the king's order, to the place of execution, in order to carry out the sentence of death. They said to him, "Call to mind your favourite deity." He exclaimed,—

Fortune will go to Govinda; the glory of heroism to the house of the Hero;
But when Muñja has passed away, that storehouse of Fame, Sarasvatī will be without a support.[5]

[1] See Rāmāyaṇa I. 15 (Gorresio's edition). Rāma was born from Kauçalyā, who received a portion of the *pāyasa*, brought by a "great being" that issued from the flame of Daçaratha's sacrifice.

[2] See Rāmāyaṇa II. 68. Daçaratha's body was placed in a *tailadroṇī*.

[3] No. 963 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He refers it to the Subhāṣitārṇava.

[4] i.e. Rāvaṇa.

[5] Fortune or Lakṣmī is the wife of Govinda or Viṣṇu. The Hero is perhaps Mahāvīra or Çiva. Sarasvatī is the goddess of literature. Forbes (Rās Mālā,

These and other speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition. Then the king had Muñja put to death, and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and by keeping it continually covered [1] with thick sour milk he gratified his own anger.

Then the ministers in the country of Mālava, hearing of that event, placed on the throne Bhoja, the son of Muñja's brother.

Here ends the first chapter of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, entitled the Chronicle of the Kings, beginning with Vikramāditya.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY OF BHOJA AND BHĪMA.

Now, when king Bhoja was reigning in Mālava, at that very time in this land of Gujarāt, Bhīma, of the Caulukya race, was ruling the earth.

Once on a time, at the close of night, Bhoja was meditating in his heart on the instability of fortune, and reflecting that his own life was uncertain as a wave; so, after the morning duties, he went into the pavilion of distribution, and began to bestow at will gold coins on petitioners summoned by his attendants. Then his prime minister, named Rohaka, considering that the king's virtue of generosity was really a vice, because it exhausted the treasury, and seeing no other means of putting a stop to that system of charity, after the general assembly [2] was dissolved, wrote with chalk on the notice-board of the pavilion the following words:—

"One should preserve wealth against the day of calamity."

Next morning the king happened casually to observe these words, and as all his attendants denied that they had done the deed, he wrote up,—

"How can calamities befall one who enjoys good fortune?"

When the king had written this, the minister wrote up,—

"Sometimes, verily, Destiny is angry."

p. 66) quotes these lines, but follows the story given in α (Bühler, MS. No. 296), according to which Muñja was hanged on a tree. Bühler and Zachariæ, while recognizing the legendary character of many of the incidents in this tale, point out that two Cālukya inscriptions boast of this execution. In a footnote they refer to J. F. Fleet, the dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 40. (Navasāhasāṅkacarita, p. 44.)

[1] The Bühler MSS. (α and β) read *viliptaṁ* for *veṣṭitaṁ*.

[2] I think that in this work *sarvāvasara* is equivalent to the Urdu phrase *dīwān-i-'āmm* or *darbār-i-'āmm*. "Notice-board" is a conjectural translation of *bhārapaṭṭa*. In the Bhojaprabandha (p. 151 of the Bombay edition published at Kalyāṇa in 1895) the words are said to have been written up in the bedroom of the king.

Afterwards the king saw it, and wrote up,—

"Even a piled-up heap disappears." [1]

When the king wrote up this before his eyes, the minister craved that his life might be spared, and confessed to what he had written. After that the king said, "People like the prime minister are not able to restrain the elephant of my intention with the elephant-hook of knowledge," and so five hundred learned men obtained the grants they chose to ask for.[2] "For indeed," continued the king, "I have inscribed on my bracelet the following four Āryā couplets :—

This is the opportunity for doing good, as long as I possess this prosperity by nature uncertain,
In calamity, which must, of necessity, arise, how will there be a further chance of doing good ?
O full moon, whiten the worlds with the full wealth of your abundant rays.
Accursed destiny, alas! does not suffer anything to remain long well established here.
This is the time for you, O lake, to aid suppliants continually with fertilizing streams ;
Moreover, this water is easy to obtain, since long ago the clouds arose.
But for a few days does the flood remain, though mounting high, with violent current,
Only the mischief, that it does, remains long, laying low the trees on the river-bank.

Moreover,

If I have not given wealth to suppliants before the sun sets,[3]
I do not know to whom that wealth will belong on the morrow.

Muttering this couplet, which was composed by myself and made the ornament of my neck, like a favourite charm, how am I, O minister, to be entrapped by you, as by a ghost ?"

Then, on a subsequent occasion, the king, while going round on his circuit, reached the bank of the river. He saw a certain Brahman, afflicted with poverty, who had forded the river, coming towards him, carrying a load of wood, and said to him,—

"How deep is the water, O Brahman ?" [4]

[1] The four inscriptions form a couplet.
[2] This passage is evidently corrupt. The printed text follows P pretty closely.
[3] I find in α, β and P, *yadanastamite*. The sense is much the same as that of the printed text. Of course this couplet is in the Anuṣṭubh metre.
[4] This is found in the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1875, p. 143).

The Brahman answered,—

"Knee-deep, O king."

When he said that, the king continued,—

"How have you been reduced to this state?"

The Brahman replied,—

"Not everywhere are there patrons like you."[1]

The present, which the king caused to be given to the Brahman, when he ended this speech, was entered in the charity account-book by the minister in the form of the following couplet:—

A lakh, a lakh, again a lakh, and ten furious elephants
Were given by the king, pleased on account of the knee-deep utterance.[2]

Then, on another occasion, at night, at the midnight hour, the king suddenly woke up, and seeing the moon recently risen in the sphere of heaven, he uttered this half-stanza, like the rising tide of his literary sea:—

This, which within the moon has the appearance of a strip of cloud,
People call a hare, but to me it does not wear that form.

When the king had repeated this half-stanza again and again, a certain thief,[3] that had entered the king's treasure-room by digging a tunnel into his palace, being unable to restrain the volume of his poetical inspiration, exclaimed,—

But I think that the moon has its body marked with the brands of a hundred scars,
Entrenched by the meteor-strokes of the sidelong glances of the fair girls afflicted by separation from your foes.

When the thief had recited this half-stanza, the king had him put in prison by his guards. Then, at the dawn of day, he had the thief summoned to his hall of audience, and gave him a present, which the officer, who superintended his charity account-book, entered in the following stanza:—

To this thief, who laid aside the fear of death, and composed
The two remaining lines,[4] the king, being pleased, gave
Ten crores of gold coins, and eight mighty elephants also,
Wounding mountains with the points of their tusks, while bees hum rejoicing in their ichor.

[1] These four speeches form a couplet.
[2] But C, D and P give *prabhāṣiṇe*, to the utterer of the knee-deep couplet. This is found in the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895, p. 146).
[3] This story will be found on page 184 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).
[4] I read with α and β, *pādadvayakṛte*. This reading is also found in the Bhojaprabandha.

Then, once on a time, while this book was being read, the king, considering himself munificent, exclaimed, as if overpowered with the demon of pride,—

I have done what no man has done, I have given what no man has given,
I have accomplished what it is impossible to accomplish, my heart is not thereby grieved.

While he was praising himself [1] again and again in these words, a certain old minister, wishing to cut short his pride, brought to the king the charity account-book of Vikramāditya.

In the introductory section of the book, first of all was found this stanza, being the first in it:—

Eight crores of gold, ninety-three tulās of pearls,
Fifty elephants excited with anger on account of the bees drunk with the smell of their ichor,
Ten thousand horses, a hundred fair ones wheedling with wiles,
All this that was given by the Pāṇḍu king by way of fine, was made over to a bard.[2]

This stanza is to be known as the "eight crores of gold" stanza, on account of the nature of the remuneratory gift described in it.

When king Bhoja had grasped the purport of this stanza, all his pride was crushed by the liberality of Vikramāditya, and after he had worshipped that account-book, he had it put back in its place.

Then he was addressed by the warder in the following words, "Your Majesty, the family of Sarasvatī waits at your gate, eager for an interview with the king." The king gave this order, "Introduce them quickly." Then the family entered in order of precedence. The servant said,—

The father is learned, the son of the father also is learned,
The mother is learned, the daughter of the mother also is learned,
The wretched one-eyed maid-servant is also learned,
King, I think that this family is a mass of learning.

The king laughed somewhat at this farcical utterance of the warder, and gave to the eldest male of the party the following quarter of a couplet to complete:—

"From the unsubstantial one should extract substance."

[1] I read *çlāghamānaḥ* with β.
[2] I omit four lines which have already been translated in the history of Vikramāditya. In MS. β they come before these lines. This stanza is found on page 181 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

The verse ran thus when completed :—

Munificence from wealth, truth from speech, so, too, fame and piety from life,
Doing good to one's neighbour from the body; from the unsubstantial one should extract substance.[1]

Then the king gave to the son the following words :—

Himālaya, in truth, the monarch of mountains;
Menā, with her limbs afflicted by bereavement, made.

No sooner had the king spoken than the son replied,—

By the fire of thy valour was melted
Himālaya, in truth, the monarch of mountains;
Menā,[2] with her limbs afflicted by bereavement, made
A bed of young shoots the refuge of her body.

When the stanza had been thus completed, the king said to the wife of the eldest son :—

"Which am I to feed with milk?"

When the king gave her this quarter of a couplet to fill up, she filled it up as follows :—

And if Rāvaṇa, in truth, was born with ten mouths, but one body,
His mother gaping with astonishment must have thought, "Which am I to feed with milk?"

Then the king gave the following quarter of a couplet to be completed:—

"On whose neck am I to hang?"

The maid-servant[3] thus filled it up :—

A certain lady, enraged with neglect, drove away her wretched husband,
My friend, a strange thought did I think, "On whose neck am I to hang?"

The king forgot to test the daughter, but rewarded them all, and then dismissed them. Then the king, as he was walking about on the floor of the upper room of his palace, holding up an umbrella, during an audience at which everybody was allowed to be present,[4] was reminded by the warder of what had happened to the daughter. The king said to her, "Speak." Then she uttered this stanza :—

[1] This stanza is No. 2750 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He finds it in the Sāhityadarpaṇa and the Subhāṣitārṇava.
[2] The wife of Himālaya and mother of Pārvatī.
[3] I read *sā* with $\alpha$ and $\beta$.
[4] Here again I take *sarvāvasara* as equivalent to *dīwān-i-'āmm*.

O king Bhoja, light of your race, crest-jewel of all kings,
It is right that you should walk about in this world with an umbrella, even at night,
Lest, by beholding your face, the moon should become abashed with shame,
And this reverend saint Arundhatī [1] should be tempted to unchastity.

As soon as she had said this, the king, having his mind captivated by her beauty, married her, and made her one of his wives. Then, on another occasion, king Bhoja, though a league of friendship [2] subsisted between him and Bhīma, being desirous of breaking the peace, and also wishing to test the cleverness of the inhabitants of the country of Gujarāt, put this *gāthā* into the hand of a diplomatic agent,[3] and sent it to Bhīma :—

The lion who with ease cleaves the foreheads of mighty elephants, the progress of whose valour is published abroad,
Has no war with the deer, and yet cannot be said to have peace with him.

Bhīma was asked to send a *gāthā* in answer to this, but considered all the compositions, which the great poets submitted, as so many fruitless efforts, until at last this *gāthā* came :—

Bhīma was created on the earth by Destiny as the destroyer of the sons of Andhaka,
How can he, who made no account of a hundred foes, make account of thee who art but one ? [4]

The king sent this mind-astonishing *gāthā*, which was composed by Govindācārya, to king Bhoja, by the hand of that minister, and thus avoided a breach of peaceful relations.

On a certain occasion,[5] a certain man, introduced by the warder, entered the hall of audience, and said to Bhoja,—

The mother is not satisfied with me nor with the daughter-in-law, the daughter-in-law neither with the mother nor me,
I for my part neither with one woman nor the other ; tell me, O king, whose is this fault ? [6]

[1] The wife of Vaçiṣṭha (or Vasiṣṭha) and one of the Pleiades. This stanza is found on pp. 163, 164 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

[2] *Yamalapatreṣu.*

[3] *Sāndhivigrahika.* Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 188) tells us that at the courts of their more powerful neighbours, the kings of Aṇhilwārā were represented by accredited diplomatic agents, called "Sāndhivigrahik" or makers of peace and war, whose duty it was to keep them informed of foreign affairs—a task performed also in another manner by persons called "Sthānpurush," men of the country or spies, who were probably unrecognized by their employers.

[4] I read with B, $\alpha$ and $\beta$, *Bhīmo puhavīi*, omitting *ya*.

[5] Here P gives *sarvāvasare*, which, as I have already pointed out, means an audience, open to all people, of whatever rank.

[6] The Bombay edition of the Bhojaprabandha (Kalyāṇa, 1895) reads *kupyati* for *tuṣyati* in this couplet, which is found on page 252.

As soon as the king heard this, he caused a present to be given to him, which chased away the poverty that had beset him from his birth. Then on a certain night in the winter season, as the king was roaming about in search of adventures,[1] he heard a certain man in front of a certain temple repeating the following stanza:—

While I am shrivelled up[2] with cold like the fruit of the bean, and plunged in a sea of anxiety,
The fire of my belly pinched with hunger, which blows and parts my lips, is appeased,
Sleep has abandoned me, and gone somewhere far away, like an insulted wife,
The night does not waste away, like fortune bestowed on a worthy recipient.

After the king had got through the latter part of the night, he summoned that man in the morning, and said to him, "How did you endure the great severity of the cold during the rest of the night?" And then he reminded him of the line:—

"The night does not waste away, like fortune bestowed on a worthy recipient."

The man answered, "Your Majesty, by virtue of the three thick garments[3] I manage to hold out against the cold." When the king asked him again, "What is that triad of garments[4] that you speak of," he repeated the following couplet:—

At night the knee, by day the sun, the fire at both twilights,
King, I endured the cold by the help of knee, sun and fire.

When he said this, he was made happy by the king by the gift of three lakhs. The man continued,—

By thee, thus imprisoning thyself[5] now by the way of munificence,
Bali, Karṇa and others have been released from their gaol in the minds of the good.

[1] Forbes has some interesting remarks on this subject. See page 191 of the Rās Mālā, Watson's edition.

[2] This translation is conjectural. Perhaps we ought to read *uddhṛṣitasya* with D. This word is said to mean "shivering." Monier-Williams tells us that *uddhuṣaṇa* is a corruption of *uddharṣaṇa*. In the Bhojaprabandha (page 181 of the Bombay edition of 1895) this stanza begins with *Çītenādhyuṣitasya*.

[3] Here I read with *a*, *tricelī* for *trivelī*. P has *mayādya* for *mayā*.

[4] Here I read *vastratrayī* with *a*, or perhaps it would be better to read *tricelī* again, taking into consideration the fact that in Jaina MSS. it is difficult to distinguish *c* from *v*.

[5] I read with *a* and P, °*ātmānamaho* for °*mānamaho*. I find *ātmānam* in the corresponding passage in the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition, p. 183), but the rest of the stanza differs so much that it throws no light on this.

While the man was thus pouring forth the full volume of his literary flood,[1] the king, who felt unable to give an adequate present in return for it, induced him by his entreaties to stop. On another occasion, when the king was mounted on an elephant, and was going round the town on his royal circuit,[2] he saw a certain beggar picking up grains that had fallen on the ground. The king uttered the first half of a half-stanza,[3]—

What is the use of those people being born who are not able to fill their own stomachs?

The beggar continued,—

Indeed there is no use at all of those people being born, who do not help others, though well able to do it.

When he had ended, the king continued,—

O mother, do not produce such a son as is intent on begging from his neighbours!

After this speech, the beggar rejoined,—

Do not, O earth, do not give support to those who refuse their neighbours' requests!

When he had said this, the king said, "Who are you?" He replied, "I here am Rājaçekhara, who, having been prevented by the chief men of the city from obtaining in any other way an entrance into your coterie of various learned men, have striven by this trick to enjoy an interview with your Highness." When he had been favoured with great gifts, suitable to him, he said,—

In that lake in which the frogs, lying in the holes, were as if dead, the tortoises had gone into the earth,
The sheat-fish had swooned again and again, from rolling on the broad slab of mud,
In that very lake a cloud, rising out of season, has wrought such a mighty work,
That herds of wild elephants drink water in it, immersed up to their foreheads.[4]

This is the utterance of Rājaçekhara called "The cloud out of season." In a certain year, owing to a failure of rain, it became impossible to obtain

[1] P has °*odgāraparastat*°.
[2] I read with *a*, *rājapāṭikāyāṁ*.
[3] Here the text reads *ardhakavinā*. But I have substituted *ardhakavitā*.
[4] This stanza is found on page 155 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

grain and grass, and king Bhīma was informed by his representatives[1] that king Bhoja was for this very reason preparing an invasion. This made him anxious, and he gave orders to a diplomatic agent named Ḍāmara, to this effect, "Whatever we may have to pay by way of fine, king Bhoja must be prevented from coming into this country during the present year." On receiving this order, he repaired to the court of king Bhoja. Now he was exceedingly ugly, but skilled in penetrating the minds of others. King Bhoja said to him,—

"Tell me how many messengers are there, belonging to your king, holding the office of diplomatic agent?"

The ambassador replied,—

"Many like me, O king of Mālava, they are there of three degrees,
They are sent in order, according as the foreign court is considered to be of low, medium, or excellent quality."

When he gave this answer with a suppressed smile, the king of Dhārā was pleased with him.

King Bhoja, astonished at the cleverness of his speech, had the drums beat as a signal for beginning the march towards Gujarāt. At the time of beginning the march, a bard said,—

The Cola king enters the bosom of the sea, the Andhra king repairs to a hole in a mighty mountain;
The king of Karṇāṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarāt frequents the mountain torrents;
Cedi, that warlike monarch, flickers with weapons; the king of Kanyakubja is here bent double;
O Bhoja, all the kings are distracted with the burden of the fear of the advance of thy army only.
On the floor of thy prison, the angry wrangle about a place on which to lay their beds,
Has increased in the night among these mutual rivals, who thus dispute,
"The king of Koṇkaṇa sleeps in the corner, Lāṭa near the door, Kaliṇga in the courtyard;
You are a new arrival, Koçala; my father also used to abide on this level spot."

After the king had ordered the drum for the advance to be beaten, a

[1] *Sthānapuruṣaiḥ*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 188) gives it as his opinion that these "men of the country" were spies. But we shall soon come to a passage which shows that one of the representatives of the Gujarātī sovereign in Mālava declared himself to be a native of Gujarāt. The passage is found on page 108 of the Sanskrit printed text.

dramatic performance, taking off all the kings, was enacted. In it a certain angry king tried to make Tailapa, who, being in the prison, had established himself in a comfortable place, get up, and was thus addressed by him, "I have an ancestral holding here, why should I leave my own home at the bidding of a new-comer like you?" Thereupon the king turned to Ḍāmara with a laugh, and praised the display of wit in the play, but received from him this reply, "King, the display of wit is, no doubt, extraordinary, but out on the ignorance that this actor [1] shows with regard to the history of the hero of the tale, for this mighty king Tailapadeva is recognized by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake!" When Ḍāmara said this before all the court, Bhoja was so stung by his sarcasm, that, without making any further preparation, he proceeded to march at once towards the country of Tilaṇga. Then, hearing that a very strong force was coming under the banner of Tailapadeva, Bhoja was very anxious, and at this conjuncture Ḍāmara came to him, and showing him a forged rescript from the king, informed him that Bhīma had reached Bhogapura. By that intelligence brought by Ḍāmara, which was like the sprinkling of salt on a wound, king Bhoja was exceedingly cast down, and he said to Ḍāmara, "You must, by hook or by crook, prevent your master from coming here during the present year." When the king said this over and over again in plaintive accents, Ḍāmara, who knew how to suit himself to every conjuncture, took a male and female elephant from him by way of present, and sent them to Bhīma in Pattana to appease him.

When king Bhoja was listening to the reading of a treatise on law, he heard of the Rādhāvedha [2] of Arjuna. He reflected, "What is difficult to practise?" And so he himself, by dint of constant practice, succeeded in performing the world-famed Rādhāvedha, and then proceeded to illuminate the markets of the city; but an oilman and a tailor out of contempt would have nothing to do with his rejoicings, and then justified their refusal to the king. The oilman stood in the upper room of a house, and from it poured a stream of oil into a narrow-mouthed earthen vessel that was on the ground; and the tailor stood on the ground, and on the point of an uplifted thread caught the eye of a needle,[3] that was thrown down from above, and so threaded the needle. Having shown in this way their skill acquired by practice, they said to the king, "If your Majesty possesses the

[1] I read *naṭasya* for *bhaṭasya*. P has *dhig naṭasya*, α, *dhik naṭasya*, β, *dhigdhanaṭasya*.

[2] This is said to mean a particular attitude in shooting, but I think it must mean a feat similar to that performed by Odysseus. Böhtlingk and Roth, in their Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, give for Rādhāvedhin "etwa nach der Scheibe schiessend." The meaning will, to a certain extent, appear in the sequel. Literally translated it means "the cleaving of Rādhā."

[3] P gives *bhūmisthita ūrdhvīmukhakṛtatantramukhe*, but also *vivare*.

requisite skill, then do what we have done." In this way they cut short the king's pride.

King Bhoja, I know why you performed the cleaving of Rādhā,[1]
It was because your Majesty could not tolerate an opposite to Dhārā.

In these words he was praised by the learned, and being desirous of laying out a new city, he had the drum beaten. Then a *hetaera*, named Dhārā, who, with her husband, named Agnivetāla, had gone to Laŋkā, and seen the way in which that town was laid out, and returned, requested that her name might be given to the new city, and making over to the king an accurate plan of Laŋkā, she laid out the town of Dhārā.

On a certain day, the king was wandering about in his town, after the evening general assembly, and he heard a certain Digambara reciting the following *gāthā*,—

This birth has been a failure,[2] I have not broken the successful sword of the warrior;
I have not listened to the shrill drums;[3] I have not clung to the neck of a fair one.

The next morning the king summoned him, and taking the opportunity of reminding him of the fact that he had uttered these words in the night, he asked him what ability he possessed. The Digambara set forth his valour in the following couplet,—

King, when the Dīpālī festival has taken place, and the ichor of elephants flows,
I will reduce under one umbrella Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Thereupon he was appointed commander-in-chief. King Bhīma having marched[4] to conquer the country of Sindh, the Digambara arrived with all the officers and sacked the august city of Aṇahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory. From that day forth it became a common saying in that land that such and such a thing has been stolen by Kulacandra. He returned to the country of Mālava with that record of victory, and related the whole story to king Bhoja. He said to him, "Why did you not have charcoal sown? The taxes of this country shall go to the land of Gujarāt." This is what king Bhoja, the neck-ornament of Sarasvatī, said to him.

[1] *Rādhāvedha.* Of course, if the syllables of *Rādhā* are inverted we obtain *Dhārā.*
[2] P gives *naggahaṁ.* I take it to be the Sanskrit *nigraham.*
[3] P gives *tikkhāṁ turiya na māniyā,* but α and β give *tirakā* (*sic*). The anusvāra in P is not very clear. For *gorī* see Hemacandra (ed. Pischel) IV. 395, 4.
[4] P, α and β read *vyāpṛte,* being engaged in conquering.

One night, Bhoja was sitting in the rays of the moon, with Kulacandra near him, and looking at the circle of the full moon, he repeated these two lines,—

Those who find the night pass as quickly as a moment in the society of the beloved,
Find, when separated, the cold-rayed moon as scorching as a meteor.

When the poet-king had in these words uttered the half[1] of a stanza, Kulacandra continued,—

But I have neither a beloved nor separation; therefore to me deprived of both these things
This moon shines like a mirror, neither hot nor yet cold.

After Kulacandra had said this, the king bestowed on him a beautiful damsel.

Then the diplomatic agent, named Ḍāmara, came from the country of Mālava, and by describing the court of Bhoja, created great astonishment. Then he returned to Mālava, and by describing Bhīma as possessing extraordinary beauty, he made[2] Bhoja excited with a longing to see him; so Bhoja entreated him, saying, "Bring him here, or take me to his capital;" and Bhīma, who wished to see the court of Bhoja, used exactly the same language to him. So, in a certain year, the resourceful Ḍāmara, conveying a great present, and taking with him king Bhīma, disguised as a Brahman, and officiating as a betel-box bearer, went into the court of Bhoja, and made his salutation. When Bhoja began to broach the subject of his bringing king Bhīma, Ḍāmara said, "Kings are independent persons, and who can force them to do what they do not wish to do?[3] But, anyhow, some slaves must not be despised by your Majesty."[4] After he had said this, Bhoja asked what the age, colour, and form of Bhīma were like, and looked round at those people who were present in court. Then Ḍāmara pointed out the betel-box bearer, and said to Bhoja, "King,

He has the same form, the same colour, the same beauty, and the same age;
The difference between him and the king is that between glass and a wishing-jewel."

[1] I read *ardhe*, but α has *tenoktaṁ* which comes to the same. P gives *iti ardhakavinā tenokte*. See page 74 of the printed text, where *ardhakavinā* occurs.

[2] The grammar in this passage seems to be defective. I have given what I suppose to be the sense.

[3] I read with α and β, *svāmino' nabhimataṁ*. P gives *nābhimataṁ*, which gives the same sense.

[4] Perhaps the reading of β, *sarvatheyaṁ kadāçā nāvadhāraṇīyā* is correct. The same reading is found in α except that °*iṁ* is given for °*yaṁ*. This will mean "You must certainly not entertain this chimerical hope." P has this reading, but *kād*° for *kad*°. However, the reading of the printed text gives a tolerable sense.

When he said this, king Bhoja, who was a very emperor among discerning men, looked at the distinguishing marks of the betel-box bearer, and then, with fixed gaze,[1] reflected that such a person must be a king. Then the diplomatic agent sent the betel-box bearer to bring the articles that composed the present. While the things were being brought, a great deal of time was taken up by Ḍāmara's protracting matters by describing their advantages, and dilating on other subjects. At last the king said to him, "How much longer is this betel-box bearer going to linger?" Then Ḍāmara told him plainly that he was Bhīma. Immediately the king set about getting ready troops to pursue him. But Ḍāmara said to him, "At the end of every twelve *yojanas* there are horses attached to a horse-litter, and female camels[2] that go a *yojana* in twenty-four minutes, so, as Bhīma is getting over the ground with all these appliances, how are you likely to catch him?" When Ḍāmara had made this representation, Bhoja remained for a long time rubbing his hands.

Then king Bhoja, having been continually hearing of the literary merit and virtue of the paṇḍit Māgha, out of eagerness to see him, kept continually sending royal invitations, and so brought him from the town of Çrīmāla in the cold weather season. He entertained him with the utmost respect, with delicious dishes and other luxuries, and after that showed him entertainments fit for a king, and then, at night, after the ceremony of waving lights before the idol was concluded, he made the paṇḍit Māgha recline on a bed near his own, and exactly like it, and he gave him his own rug, and after conversing pleasantly with him for a long time, he slept comfortably. In the morning the king was aroused by the sound of the auspicious drums, and then the paṇḍit Māgha asked him for leave to return home. The king, with his heart full of astonishment, asked him how he had enjoyed his food and coverlets in the day that had passed, but he said, "Let us not discuss the question as to whether the food was good or bad," but represented that he was exhausted with the weight of the rug.[3] The king, who was vexed, at last, with difficulty, consented to his departure, and so the paṇḍit Māgha, being accompanied by the king as far as the city park, and honourably dismissed, returned to his own home. Māgha, before he left, entreated[4] the king to honour him with the favour of a visit to him in his own house. Some days after, king Bhoja, eager to see the apparatus of Māgha's wealth and luxury, went to the town of Çrīmāla.

[1] P and β give *niçcaladṛçaṁ nṛpaṁ.* This would mean, I suppose, that Ḍāmara, remarking that Bhoja was looking intently at Bhīma, sent the latter away. In any case, the grammar is defective.

[2] MS. α has *kariṇyaḥ* (female elephants), β, *karibhyaḥ*.

[3] I read *çītarakṣābhāreṇa* with P, α and β, instead of *çītabhāreṇa*, which is, perhaps, a misprint.

[4] P, α and β give *vijñapya*.

The paṇḍit Māgha won his heart by showing him appropriate respect in going to meet him and paying him other attentions, and the king found that there was room for himself and his army in Māgha's stables. But he himself went to paṇḍit Māgha's palace, and observed that the floor of the passage leading to it was inlaid with gold.[1] After he had bathed, he put on a clean garment, standing on the floor of the god's shrine, which was made of a pavement of crystal and emerald in such a way as to resemble water full of the branching stems of aquatic plants. The commencement of the rite was immediately announced to him by the family priest, and after the worship of the god was over, and the *mantra* ceremony[2] had come to an end, the king tasted the savoury food, which was brought in at meal-time. His mind was surprised by all kinds of accessory delicacies, such as fruits, which came from foreign countries, or were produced out of their due season. After he had eaten to his fill savoury food remarkable for well-seasoned milk and rice, at the end of the meal he went up into the upper chamber, and was a spectator of poems, tales, histories, and plays, not seen or heard[3] before. Though it was the cold season, there was artificially produced a sudden semblance of terrible heat,[4] so that the king had to put on white transparent garments, and being fanned by servants holding palm-leaves in their hands, and having his clothes anointed with much sandal-wood ointment, he passed that night in delightful sleep, as if it had been but a moment. In the morning he was waked by the sound of conchs, and was informed by the paṇḍit Māgha of the fact that the hot season had suddenly appeared in the middle of the cold weather.[5] He spent some days, as suited the season, full of astonishment, and then asked leave to depart to his own country, and after bestowing on Māgha all the merit of the new Bhojasvāmin temple, that he was about to build[6] himself, he set out for the country of Mālava.

Now, on the day of his birth, Māgha's father had his horoscope cast by an astrologer, and the astrologer stated that at the beginning of his life his prosperity would be continually increasing, but at the end he would lose all his opulence, and a disease of swelling would to a certain extent manifest itself in his feet, and so he would die. When the astrologer said this,[7] Māgha's father was desirous of counteracting that predicted course of the planets by an accumulation of wealth, and so, having reflected that in the life of a

[1] Or glass, according to α and β, which have *kācabaddhāṁ*.

[2] Probably the circumambulation accompanied by the repetition of a *mantra*. (Forbes, Rās Mālā, p. 397.)

[3] P gives *açrutādṛṣṭ' āpūrva*°. I have followed the printed text.

[4] P, α and β give *bhīṣmoṣmabhrāntyā*. This I translate.

[5] The reading of α, *vyatikaraṁ*, improves the grammar. I find *vyatikara* in β.

[6] Both α and β read *kārita* = caused to be built.

[7] P and α give *Iti nimittavidā nivedite*. This I have followed, but the sense is not thereby much altered.

human being, which is of the length of a hundred years, there will be thirty-six thousand days, he placed so many strings threaded with coins in new receptacles that he had made for the purpose, and gave his son hundredfold more wealth in addition to that, and bestowed on him the name of Māgha, and gave him the education befitting his family, and then thinking that he had done his duty, he died. Immediately Māgha, having, like the lord of the northern quarter,[1] a vast empire over luxuries,[2] began to give to learned men as much wealth as they desired, and fulfilled the wishes of the tribe of petitioners with measureless gifts, and by various[3] kinds of enjoyments showed himself in his own country [4] like the incarnation of a god. He excited admiration in learned men by composing the epic poem named Çiçupālabadha; but at the end of his life, owing to the fact that the merit acquired in a previous state of existence was exhausted, he lost his wealth, and as calamity had fallen upon him, he was unable to remain in his own country, and so he went with his wife to the country of Mālava, and took up his residence in Dhārā.[5] He made up his mind that he must obtain some money from king Bhoja by offering him a book to purchase. So he sent his wife to him, and remained long hoping for it. In the meanwhile, king Bhoja, seeing his wife in that condition, opened that book, hastily thrusting a pin[6] into it and saw the following stanza:—

The clump of night-lotuses has lost its glory, glorious is the mass of day-lotuses,
The owl abandons his joy, the Brahmany drake is full of happiness,
The warm-rayed sun is rising, the cold-rayed moon [7] is setting,
Various, alas! is the development of the freaks of accursed Fate.

Then, having grasped the meaning of the stanza, he said, "Why need we consider the whole book? The world itself would be a small price for this stanza alone." So the king gave by way of remuneration for the word "Alas!" which was appropriate to the occasion, and not redundant, wealth to the amount of a lakh, and so dismissed Māgha's wife. But she

[1] i.e. Kuvera, the god of wealth.

[2] I insert with *a*, *bhojya* between *prājya*° and *sāmrājyo*. The same MS. has *prāpta* before *prājya*°.

[3] I read with *a*, *β* and P, *taistair*°.

[4] Before *svaṁ* I insert *nijadeçe*, which I find in *a*.

[5] This part of the story is found in the Bhojaprabandha, pp. 220 and ff. (edition of 1895, Kalyāṇa, Bombay).

[6] According to Molesworth's Marāṭhi Dictionary, it is customary to examine a candidate by piercing the sheets of a book with a *çalākā* or pin, and asking him to explain the stanza on which the pin rests. Books are apparently used in this way to inquire into the future. Cp. the Sortes Virgilianæ. The word *çalākā* may also mean a stilus for writing on palm-leaves. (Bühler Indische Palæographie, p. 92.)

[7] The moon is the friend of the white lotus, which expands its petals during the night, and closes them in the daytime. The Brahmany drake is separated from his mate during the night.

as she was returning from the king's palace, being known to be the wife of the paṇḍit Māgha, was solicited for alms by certain petitioners, and so she gave them the whole of the king's present, and returned to the house no richer than she left it, and informed her husband, in whose feet a swelling had to a certain extent manifested itself, of what had taken place, with a full explanation. Then he praised her, saying, "You are my reputation manifest in bodily form," and then, seeing that a beggar had come to his house, and that there was nothing in it fit to give him, he fell into a state of despondency, and said this,—

I have no wealth, and yet vain hope does not leave me,
My perverse hand does not[1] abandon the desire to give.
Begging involves disgrace, and yet in self-slaughter there is sin,
Ye vital spirits, depart ye of yourselves; what availeth it to lament?
The scorching of the fire of poverty is allayed with the water of acquiescence,
But, as for this pain produced by frustrating the expectation of the wretched, by what is this to be allayed?
Leave me, leave me, ye vital spirits, since a petitioner has gone to disappointment,
Sooner or later you will have to go, but where will you find such a caravan to start with?
In time of famine begging is out of place; how can the poorly-circumstanced contract a loan?
And who will give the lords of the earth work to do?
This householder is about to perish without having given a mouthful;[3]
Where are we to go, what are we to do, wife? Mysterious is life's dispensation.
A wayfarer, gaunt with famine, has come from some place asking for my house;
So, wife, is there anything which this man, afflicted with hunger, may eat?
She says with her voice, "There is," and again, "There is not," without syllables;
By drops of flowing tears, by broad, broad streams pouring from her rolling eyes.

[1] I find in β, *tyāgānna sañcalati* and in P and α, *dānānna saṃkucati*. I think that a negative is required. I find in the Bhojaprabandha, *tyāge ratiṁ vahati*. The reading of the printed text means, "In truth my perverse hand contracts from giving."

[2] This passage is full of puns. "Disappointment" may also mean "want of meaning"; the word for "caravan" means also "having meaning," and the word for "petitioner" is connected with *artha* which means "petition," "meaning," and "wealth."

[3] Or, "This sun is setting without allowing Rāhu to swallow him in an eclipse." *Grāsa* also means "grant."

Immediately after uttering this speech, that paṇḍit Māgha died. Next morning king Bhoja heard of that occurrence, and as Māgha's fellow-tribesmen, the Mālas, were wealthy, and yet allowed such an admirable man to die overpowered with hunger, he gave them the well-known name of Bhilla[1]-Mālas.

Once on a time, in the city of Viçālā, which was great in prosperity, there was dwelling a Brahman of the name of Sarvadeva, of the Kāçyapa *gotra*, a native of Madhyadeça.[2] By associating with the followers of the Jaina religion, he had well-nigh suppressed falsehood[3] in himself. With his two sons, Dhanapāla and Çobhana, he entertained in a monastery[4] of his own, out of regard for his merits, the Jaina teacher, Vardhamāna, who came to him one day, and as the teacher was pleased with his unvarying devotion, Sarvadeva, thinking that he was a son of the omniscient one, asked him about a treasure of his ancestors that had disappeared. The teacher, making use of words intentionally ambiguous, asked him to give him half, and after Sarvadeva had found the treasure by the indications which the teacher gave, he was for giving him half of the treasure, but the teacher then asked him for half his couple of sons. Dhanapāla, the eldest, whose mind was blinded by falsehood, and who was addicted to denouncing the Jaina way, refused his consent, and with regard to the younger, named Çobhana, he was restrained by compassion. So, being desirous of washing away in holy bathing-places the crime of breaking his promise, he set out on a pilgrimage to holy bathing-places. Then the younger son, named Çobhana, who was devoted to his father, dissuaded him from his intention, and took a vow to make good his father's promise, and himself repaired to that Jaina teacher. Dhanapāla studied all the branches of Brahmanical learning, and, by the favour of king Bhoja, obtained the post of superior[5] of all the paṇḍits, and, out of a feeling of hostility to his brother, he prevented the professors of the Jaina faith from entering his country for the space of twelve years. The Jaina laymen of that country called upon the teacher with vehement entreaty, and so that ascetic, named Çobhana, who had reached the further shore of the ocean of Jaina treatises, took leave of the teacher, and went there and entered Dhārā. As he was entering, the paṇḍit Dhanapāla, who was accompanying the king on his royal circuit, not

[1] Or "barbarous Mālas." The reading of α and β, *tajjāter nāma* would mean, "He gave that tribe the name," &c. Bühler (Indian Studies, No. 1) tells us that "Çrīmāla" is another name of Bhillamāla, the modern Bhīnmāl in southern Mārvāḍ. P has, as I read it, *tajjātar*, the vowel *e* being omitted.

[2] The country lying between the Himālayas on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Vinaçana on the west, Prayāga on the east.

[3] Probably in the sense of wrong belief from the Jaina point of view.

[4] *Upāçraya.*

[5] P and α give *prasṭa* (for *prasṭha*) instead of the *prakṛṣṭa* of the printed text. I have followed these two MSS.

recognizing that he was his brother, said to him jeeringly, "All hail! ass-toothed mendicant!"[1] The hermit, Çobhana, answered, "Good luck befall you, my friend, with a mouth like a *kapivṛṣaṇa*." Dhanapāla was inwardly astonished at this speech of Çobhana's, and said to himself, "I said, 'All hail to you,' in pure joke, but this man, by saying 'Good luck to you, my friend,' has conquered me by his dexterity in speech." So he said to Çobhana, "Whose guests are you?" These speeches of Dhanapāla elicited from the hermit Çobhana the reply, "We are your guests, sir." When Dhanapāla heard this speech of the hermit Çobhana, he sent Çobhana, with his attendant novice, to his own palace, and assigned him a place there. Then Dhanapāla himself returned to the palace, and with polite speeches invited Çobhana with his attendant to dinner. But they,[2] who were addicted to taking only pure food, refused. Dhanapāla earnestly inquired what objection could be taken to his food. They answered,—

A hermit should eat food collected as bees collect honey, even if given by a family of Mlecchas,
He should not eat a regular meal, even if offered by one equal to Vṛhaspati.

Moreover, the same doctrine is laid down in the Jaina religion, in the Daçavaikālika,—

Those wise persons, who are like bees, not depending on any one person for food,
Delighting in many scraps, self-subdued, are for that reason called saints.[3]

Accordingly, as food expressly prepared for us is forbidden both by our own religion and an alien religion, we avoid it, and eat pure food. Dhanapāla was astonished at their virtuous practice, and silently rising up went into his palace. When he was beginning his bath, those two hermits arrived on a begging round, and the Brahman's wife seeing them, as the cooking of the food was not completed,[4] brought the two hermits sour milk to drink. They asked, "For how many days has this been kept?" But Dhanapāla jeeringly remarked, "Do you suppose that there are maggots in it?" The Brahman's wife investigated the matter and said, "It has been kept for two days." Thereupon the two hermits said, "Undoubtedly there

[1] Perhaps this refers to the fact that the Jaina ascetic ate only vegetables. Professor Leumann kindly informs me that "*Gardabhadanta bhadanta namaste*" and "*Kapivṛṣaṇāsya vayasya sukhaṁ te*" are two Pādas composed in the Viçloka metre with rhyming syllables. I do not understand the meaning of *kapivṛṣaṇa*.

[2] Here the plural is used, but further on the dual.

[3] This passage is found on page 613 of Professor Leumann's Daçavaikālika Sūtra, as he has kindly pointed out to me. The same idea will be found in Hemacandra's Yogaçāstra, III. 140.

[4] I read *asiddhe 'nnapāke* with β. I find in α, *asiddhāntapāke*. P gives *asiddhe annapake*. P also gives *pṛcchyamāno Dhanapālaḥ*.

are maggots in it."[1] So Dhanapāla rose up from the seat on which he had placed himself to take his bath, in order to look into the matter, and when he saw that on a piece of cotton coloured red being placed in the vicinity of the sour milk, which was put on a plate, creatures [2] of the colour of the sour milk climbed upon the red cotton, and made it as white as the clot of milk, he admitted that the Jaina religion was conspicuous for its compassion towards all living creatures, and also conferred skill in detecting their production. For—

One should avoid *mudga* and *māṣa* [3] and other leguminous plants, if unboiled milk is thrown upon them,
They say, moreover, that living animals are produced in sour milk, after it has remained three days.

This is laid down in the law of the Jina. Having ascertained this, Dhanapāla, owing to the excellent instruction of the hermit Çobhana, accepted the correct belief, and entered into full possession of the truth.[4] Being naturally clever, he became exceedingly learned in the Karmaprakṛti and other argumentative treatises of the Jainas, and he repeated as follows, every morning after the ceremony of worshipping the Jina,—

The lord of a few cities, hard to win even by bodily sacrifices,
I have, alas! in former days followed, under the delusion that he would bestow measureless gifts; [5]
Now I have gained as my master the lord of the three worlds, who bestows his own rank,
Who is to be worshipped with the reason; but the waste of days, that preceded my conversion, afflicts me.
I thought that true religion was everywhere until, O Jina, I knew thy law,
As the gold-sick think everything gold, not having recovered their white condition.[6]

[1] P reads *pūtarāḥ santītyatra abhihite.* The two other MSS. give, with the text, a superfluous *iti*.

[2] I find in P, *tairjantubhir*°, those creatures. *Pumba* is, I suppose, the Persian word *pamba*, which is sometimes pronounced *pumba*.

[3] *Muggamāsāi.* Hoernle tells us that *mudga* is Phaseolus Mungo, and *māṣa* is Phaseolus mungo radiatus (Uvāsagadasāo, p. 18). My translation is based upon Hemacandra's Yogaçāstra (ed. Windisch), III. 7.

*Āmagorasasaṁpṛktaṁ dvidalaṁ puṣpitaudanaṁ*
*Dadhyahardvitayātītaṁ kuthitānnaṁ ca varjayet.*

[4] I find in P, α and β, *samyaktattvaṁ bheje.* This I translate.

[5] I follow P, which gives *dvrgrahomitavitaritāmohena.* I assume that *amitavitarin* means "giver of measureless gifts."

[6] The editor explains that this gold-sickness is produced by the Dhattūra poison; "as all looks yellow to the jaundiced eye." He gives another explanation of the concluding words of the second line: "not obtaining a place suitable for confidence." I prefer to read *alabhamāṇāṇaṁ* with α and β, and apparently P. For this gold-sickness cp. Pariçiṣṭa Parvan (ed. Jacobi), p. 166, *Mṛtpiṇḍam api hemaiva pītonmatto hi paçyati.*

The lord of a country bestows one village,
The lord of a village bestows one field,
The lord of a field bestows kidney-beans,
The All-knowing one, propitiated, bestows his own bliss.

Such speeches Dhanapāla recited continually.

While in this frame of mind, he was one day taken out to hunt with the king, and was thus addressed by him,—

"Dhanapāla, what, pray, is the cause that these deer
Leap up towards the sky, while the boars furrow the ground?"

Dhanapāla answered,—

"King, terrified by your weapons, they seek to take refuge with their kind,
The deer with the deer in the deer-marked moon, the boars with the primeval boar.[1]

When the king pierced a deer with an arrow, he looked at the face of Dhanapāla, in order that he might celebrate his exploit in verse, but Dhanapāla said,—

May your valour in this matter go to the region under the earth!
This is evil policy, for he who takes refuge is held guiltless:
That the weak is even slain by the mighty,
Oh! alas! woe worth the day! is a sign that the world is kingless.

The king was indignant at this reproach from Dhanapāla, and said, "What is the meaning of this?" But he received this answer,—

Since even enemies are let off, when near death, if they take grass in their mouths,
How can you slay these harmless beasts, who always feed on grass?

Then a strange pity arose in the mind of the king, and he consented to break his bow and arrows, and he renounced the evil practice of hunting for the term of his natural life. As he was returning to the town, he heard there the plaintive cry of a goat that was fastened to a sacrificial post in the sacrifice-shed, and asked Dhanapāla, "What does this animal say?" Thereupon he answered, "It is entreating that it may not be slain.

I am not desirous of enjoying the fruits of heaven, I never asked you for them;
I am always satisfied with eating grass; this conduct does not become you, holy man;

[1] It is well known that the Hindus place a deer in the moon instead of a man; the "primeval boar" is, of course, Viṣṇu in his third incarnation.

If the living creatures slain by you in sacrifice assuredly go to heaven,
Why do you not offer sacrifice with your mother and father, your sons and brothers likewise? [1]

When he had said this, the king again attacked him with the question, "What does this mean?" He replied,—

Having made a sacrificial post, having slain beasts, having made gory mire—
If by this one goes to heaven, by what does one go to hell?
Truth is my sacrificial post, penance indeed is my fire, deeds are my fuel,
One should offer harmlessness as a burnt-offering, thus one's sacrifice is approved by the good.[2]

Reciting these and other speeches uttered in the Çukasaṁvāda, in front of the king, and teaching him that those creatures of harmful nature, who preach the gospel of doing harm to living beings, are only Rākshasas in Brahman form, he made king Bhoja well-disposed towards the Jaina religion. Then, on a certain occasion, the king was walking in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa temple, and he said to the paṇḍit Dhanapāla, who was always praising the law of the All-knowing one, "Admitting that there once was an All-knowing one, is there now any superiority of knowledge in his sect?" Thereupon Dhanapāla answered, "In the book called Arhaccūḍāmaṇi written by the Arhat, there is even now contained information about the real facts with regard to all objects in the three worlds in past, present and future." When he said this, the king was in the ante-chamber[3] of the temple, which had three doors. Being eager to cast a slur on the Jaina treatises, he said, "By what door are we going out?" Then Dhanapāla, proving the truth of the version, "The really auspicious thirteenth[4] is intellect only," wrote the answer to the king's question on a leaf

[1] See the translation of the Sarva Darçana Saṅgraha by Cowell and Gough, p. 10.

[2] I find in *a* and *β*, *Esha yajnaḥ sanātanaḥ*. P gives *samātanaḥ* (*sic*).

[3] Sanskrit *maṇḍapa*. Dr. Burgess translates it sometimes by "hall," sometimes by "porch." On this point Dr. Burgess writes to me as follows: "The shrine (*garbhagṛha*) contains the image or *liṅga*. In larger temples there is often in front of it a chamber either partly or entirely open in front, with pillars between it and the hall: this is the *antarāla-maṇḍapa*. In front of this again is a larger apartment with the walls rising to half the height (in smaller temples), the upper part of the height having short pillars to support the roof; usually four, twelve or more pillars according to size. This is the *manḍapa* (if there is not a second in the front of it again), or *mahāmaṇḍapa*; and if the walls go to the roof, I would call it the Hall. If it is a 'porch' open for the upper part of the height, and not very large, I think 'porch' is the more descriptive appellation. Again, in front of the *Mahāmanḍapa* there is not unfrequently a smaller porch, often open, supported by pillars on three sides. This then is the *maṇḍapa* or true porch. There may also be a small pavilion over the Garuḍa or Nandi in front of the temple, which is the *Garuḍa-maṇḍapa* or *Nandi-maṇḍapa*."

[4] This appears, according to the Bombay editor, to be an improved version of the astrologers' saying, "The thirteenth is all-auspicious."

of birch-bark, and placed it in an earthen jar, and gave the jar to the betel-box bearer,[1] and then said to the king, "Set on your foot, your Highness." The king thought that he himself had now fallen into a difficulty created for him by the cleverness of Dhanapāla,[2] but considering that Dhanapāla must have fixed on one of the three doors, he had the lotus slab [3] of the ante-chamber removed by masons, and went out by that aperture. Then he broke the jar, and reading the precise description of this mode of exit in those letters inscribed on the birch leaf, he was excited in mind by surprise at that incident, and praised the law of the Jina.

What Viṣṇu cannot see with his two eyes, Çiva with his three, and Brahmā the Creator with his eight,
What Skanda cannot see with his twelve eyes, and the lord of Laŋkā with his twice ten,
What Indra cannot see with his ten hundred, what the multitude cannot see even with their countless eyes,
That thing the wise man sees clearly with the eye of wisdom alone.

Then Dhanāpala, after composing the praise of Ṛsabha in fifty verses,[4] showed to the king, once on a time, a eulogistic tablet composed by himself, in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa temple. On it there was the following stanza:—

He has delivered the earth, he has torn open the enemy's breast,
He has, with might, taken into his bosom the fortune of the kingdom of Bali,
This young man has achieved in one birth
What the primeval spirit accomplished in three.[5]

Having read this stanza, the king gave by way of recompense for that tablet a jar of gold. As Dhanapāla was leaving that temple, he saw in the passage [6] of the door, a statue of the god of love clapping hands with his wife Rati,[7] and laughed. When the king asked him the cause of his laughter, the paṇḍit said,—

[1] *Chagikā°* is, of course, a misprint for *sthagikā°*.
[2] I find in *a*, *nṛpastu buddhi°*. This, perhaps, gives a better sense.
[3] I find in *a* a simpler reading, viz. *çilām*, which I translate "stone." The king therefore had a stone removed. But P gives *padmaçilām*. Dr. Burgess refers me to Fergusson's Eastern Architecture, p. 197, where he figures two "moonstones." Dr. Burgess informs me that these are often carved with lotus-petals and *cakwās*.
[4] According to Bühler (Introduction to Pāiyalacchī, p. 9) this work is still extant. Bühler quite accepts Merutuŋga's statement that Dhanapāla was converted from Brahmanism to the Jaina religion.
[5] This is an allusion to the Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana incarnations of Viṣṇu. "The kingdom of Bali" may also be translated "The kingdom of the mighty."
[6] Sanskrit *khattaka*.
[7] For *paraṁ* P gives *parasparaṁ*.

"That very Çiva, whose self-restraint is celebrated through the three worlds,
Afflicted with separation, now bears his beloved in his own body,[1]
So we are conquered by this god, are we?" saying this, and patting with his hand
The hand of his beloved, triumphs laughingly the god of love.

Another day, beholding, in the temple of Çiva, Bhṛṇgin at his own door,
The king asked Dhanapāla, "Why does he look so emaciated?" Dhanapāla answered,—
"If he is sky-clothed, why has he a bow? If he has a bow, away with ashes!
If he has ashes, then why a wife? If he has a wife, then why does he hate Love?"
Beholding thus the inconsistent conduct of his own master, Alas!
Bhṛṇgin has his body reduced to a skeleton, and rough, as covered with a close network of veins.[2]
Glorious is the body of Çiva, at the time of his marriage, horripilant, adorned with ashes,
In which the god of love has, as it were, sprouted, though reduced to a cinder.

She eats filth, void of discernment,
She loves her own son, too fondly attached,
With hoof-points and horns she smites creatures,
For what good quality, O king, is the cow worshipped?[3]

If the cow is to be worshipped, because it is able to give milk, why not the female buffalo?
There is not seen in the cow even the slightest superiority to the other.[4]

While Dhanapāla was delighting the king by these and other well-known perfect literary utterances, a certain merchant, announced by the

[1] An allusion to the Ardhanārīça form of Çiva. This god, on one occasion, reduced Kāma, the god of love, to ashes with the fire of his eye.

[2] Professor Leumann informs me that the last four lines are also quoted in the commentary on the first two stanzas in Haribhadra's Aṣṭaka.

[3] It will be observed that Dhanapāla runs a tilt at sacrifices, and the principal Hindu gods, and, at last, attacks the sacred cow.

[4] I find in P an interesting stanza which is omitted in the printed text. It runs as follows:—

*Asatyuttamāṅge kathaṁ mūrdhni mālā?*
*Abhālasya bhāle kathaṁ paṭṭabandhaḥ?*
*Akarṇasya karṇe kathaṁ gītanṛtye?*
*Apādasya pāde kathaṁ me praṇāmaḥ?*

As he has no head, how can thoro be a garland on it?
As he has no forehead, how can it be crowned with a turban?
As he has no ears, how can song and dance sound in his ears?
As he has no feet, how can I fall prostrate at his foot?

warder, entered the hall of audience, and, after bowing to the king, showed some laudatory stanzas on a tablet of wax. When the king asked where they were obtained, he said as follows, "My ship suddenly stopped in mid-ocean, and when the sailors began to sound the sea, they saw submerged in it a temple of Çiva, and though the waves were surging around it, they saw that, inside, it was free from water, and perceiving that there were letters on a certain wall, they applied a tablet of wax to it, in order to find out what they were, and here is the tablet with the letters that came off on it."[1]

When the king heard that, he applied a tablet of clay to the wax tablet, and had the letters[2] that then appeared on it, read by paṇḍits. They ran as follows:—

"Though brought indeed by me, through my association with him from boyhood, to the highest pitch of prosperity,
This king's son is now ashamed, when there is even any conversation about me."
Thus vexed, supported by glory, as if by a son, the aged assemblage of virtues
Has gone to the ascetic groves on the bank of the sea, as if to perform penance.
When the king, eager to conquer the world, was roaming about wrathful to every quarter,
Imposing vows of widowhood on the wives of rivals, who took in hand the bow,
Not to speak of other ladies, even Rati, through fear, did not permit her husband
To carry in his hand his flowery bow, which is clothed with the indigo hue of female bees, blind with joy.
King, these wives of your enemies carry, without resting, with the twin pitchers of their breasts,
Sighing as they go, in the shape of a stream of tears discharged from the revolving buckets of their broad eyes,
Drawn by the ever-moving irrigation wheel of much grief from the deep well of thought,
The water of weeping, falling through the difficult path of the bridge of the nose, as if through pipes of bamboo.

While these complete stanzas were being read, they came upon this half stanza:—

[1] I read with β, *tatkrāntākṣaramayī*. The text would mean "containing those beautiful letters."
[2] P, α and β insert *viparītān*, reversed, like the inscription on a seal.

Alas ! indeed the results of deeds formerly done
Are terrible in the case of living creatures.

Though more than a hundred paṇḍits, skilled in completing fragmentary stanzas, tried to produce a second half to this, their compositions would not, in the opinion of the king, harmonize with the first part. Then the paṇḍit Dhanapāla was asked by the king. He produced the following continuation,—

Alas ! Alas ! those very heads, which gleamed on the head of Çiva,
Are now rolled about by the feet of kites.[1]

When the king said, "This second half really harmonizes with the first," the paṇḍit asserted, "If this is not found both in words and sense on the wall that contains this panegyric at Rāmeçvara, I will henceforth renounce the profession of poet until the end of my life." The moment the king heard Dhanapāla make this vow, he ordered sailors to embark on a vessel, and putting out to sea, they reached that temple in six months, and again applied a tablet of wax to the inscription. When the king saw that they brought this very second half of the stanza, he gave the paṇḍit the reward that he deserved for his cleverness. The numerous stanzas of the fragmentary inscription must be considered as related above according to tradition.

One day the king asked the paṇḍit the reason of his remissness in attendance. He excused himself on the ground that he was engaged in composing the Tilakamañjarī.[2] The king was at a loss for some distraction in the last watch of a night of the cold weather, so he got the paṇḍit to bring for him the first original manuscript[3] of the story called Tilakamañjarī, which he read, while the paṇḍit explained it. While he was reading it, being afraid that the sentiment[4] of the book might fall, he placed under it a golden plate with a saucer. When the king had finished it, his mind was filled with admiration on account of its wonderful poetical merit, and he said to the paṇḍit, "Make me the hero of this tale, and put Avantī in the place of Vinatā, and let the shrine of Mahākāla take the place of the holy

[1] These two lines are found in the Bhojaprabandha (p. 246 of the Bombay edition of 1895), but the second line begins, *Çiva, Çiva, tāni.* This suggests the reading, *Hara, Hara, tāni.* The word which I have translated, "Alas!" means literally, "O Viṣṇu." In the Bhojaprabandha the inscription is found by fishermen on a stone in the Narmadā.

[2] Professor Aufrecht, in his Catalogus Catalogorum, tells us that this book by Dhanapāla is quoted by Nami on Kāvyālaṇkāra 16, 3.

[3] The three MSS. that I have seen, give *pratim.* I find that in Gujarati and Marathi *prata* means a copy of a book.

[4] *Rasa* means "moisture" and also "sentiment" or "poetical flavour." The action is, probably, to be conceived of as symbolical.

water of Çakrāvatāra,[1] and then I will give you whatever you like to ask." The paṇḍit thereupon exclaimed, "There is as vast a difference between the two sets of things as there is between a fire-fly and the sun; between a grain of mustard-seed and the Golden Mountain;[2] between glass and gold; between a Dhattūra plant and the wishing-tree of paradise;" and he continued,—

Double-mouthed, speechless, covetous-minded, javelin-like creature, what are we to say of you?
Weighing gold with guñja-seeds[3] you have not gone to the subterranean world.

While the paṇḍit was reproaching him in these words, King Bhoja[4] burnt that original draft in the blazing fire. Then the paṇḍit was doubly dispirited and doubly crestfallen, and he flung himself down on an old couch in the back part of his palace, and lay there sighing deeply. His daughter Bālapaṇḍitā[5] roused him from his stupor with loving attention and made him bathe and eat and drink, and then remembering the first half of the Tilakamañjarī from having seen the writing of the first draft of it,[6] she wrote it out, and the second half she composed anew, and so completed the book.

One day, in the assembly-hall of Bhoja, Dhanapāla uttered this stanza,—

O lord of Dhārā, this Creator, wishing to count the kings of the earth,
Made a streak in the sky with a piece of chalk to note down you,
That became this very river of the gods;[7] because there is not a husband of the earth equal to you,
He let drop the piece of chalk; this on the surface of the earth is that snowy Himālaya.

When the other paṇḍits laughed at this stanza, Dhanapāla said,—

Vālmīki makes the sea to be bridged with rocks brought by the monkeys,
Vyāsa by the arrows of Arjuna; and yet they are not charged with exaggeration;

[1] Mentioned in the Jaina recension of the Siṁhāsanadvātriṁçikā, fifteenth story. Indische Studien, XV. p. 362.
[2] i.e. Sumeru.
[3] The seeds of the Abrus precatorius (*rati* seeds) are used by goldsmiths as their smallest weights. They are red with a black spot. For *tujjha kiṁ*, α and β read *kittiyaṁ*.
[4] I read *Çrī Bhojas°* for *Çrī Bhoje*. The words are omitted in α and β. It is clear that the king burnt the book.
[5] Infant female paṇḍit.
[6] The reading of C, D and α, *prathamādarçalekhanāt* means "from having written the first draft of it."
[7] i.e. the Ganges.

We say a certain thing which is to the point ; nevertheless loudly
Laughs this people, shooting out the mouth : we bow to thee, O established reputation.[1]

Once, when a paṇḍit said to the king, "Listen, O king, to the story of the Mahābhārata," that excellent follower of the Jina said to the paṇḍit,—

Of the hermit Vyāsa, born from an unmarried woman, who outraged the widowhood of his brother's wife,
The five heroes, the Pāṇḍavas, were the sons of the son of an erring widow, and were themselves born in adultery ;
These very five men are said to have had one wife between them :[2] if the story, that celebrates them,
Is holy, and brings blessings to men, what other way is the way of evil ?

The poem of praise written by the hermit Çobhana in twenty-four stanzas is well known.[3]

When the king said to Dhanapāla, "Have you now any narrative[4] or other work in the course of composition ?" Dhanapāla answered,—

Fearing that her throat might be burnt with hot sour gruel,[5]
Sarasvatī has left my mouth,
Therefore I have no poetical faculty remaining,
O thou whose hand is busy in seizing the hair of thy enemies' Fortune !
Who, indeed, is not refreshed by taking to heart, full of charm,[6]
The language of Dhanapāla, and the sandal-wood of the Malaya mountain ?

On another occasion, the king called together into one place, representatives of all the sects, and asked them the way of salvation. They revealed in their speeches partiality for their own particular sects, but being united by a desire to find out the true way, they fixed as a limit a period of six

[1] The meaning seems to be : Vālmīki the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, and Vyāsa the author of the Mahābhārata, as their reputation is established, escape criticism.

[2] I conjecture *samānajānaya°* for *samānajātaya°*.

[3] This work of Çobhana is extant according to Bühler (Introduction to Pāiyalacchi, p. 9).

[4] Sanskrit *prabandha*.

[5] Hoernle, in his note on page 108 of his translation of the Bower Manuscript, tells us that *āraṇāla* is the same as *kāñcika* or *dhānyāmla*. On page 14 he speaks of it as a kind of sour gruel made with unhusked rice. It is clear that Dhanapāla was under medical treatment. This stanza is found in the Bhojaprabandha, p. 228 (Bombay edition of 1895).

[6] *Rasa* means "juice," and also poetical sentiment. This couplet is found in the Kīrttikaumudī of Someçvara, I. 16. Dhanapāla composed Sanskrit poetry and a Sanskrit Koṣa, and also the Pāiyalacchī for his sister Sundarī. (Bühler's Introduction to the Pāiyalacchī, pp. 7 and 10.) It is, unfortunately, probable that Merutugga's account of Dhanapāla's adventures at Bhoja's court is not founded on fact. (Bühler o.c. p. 9.) Dhanapāla was really a contemporary of Muñja or Vākpatirāja II. (Bühler and Zachariæ, Navasāhasāŋkacarita, p. 42.)

months, and devoted themselves to propitiating the goddess Sarasvatī. At the end of a certain night, the goddess roused up the king, saying, "Are you awake?

You must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but you must practise that of the Jainas,
You must observe in ordinary life that of the Vedas, you must meditate on the supreme [1] Çiva."

Or, "You must meditate on the undecaying place." [2] Having repeated this verse to the king, and the representatives of the sects, the goddess Sarasvatī disappeared. Then they composed this couplet, which continued the sense of the preceding one:[3]—

Religion is characterized by harmlessness, and one must honour the goddess Sarasvatī,
By meditation one obtains salvation; this is the view of all the sectaries.

Thus they gave the king a safe decision.

Then a cook, living in that town, named Çītā,[4] when a pilgrim, a native of a foreign country, had arrived on the solar festival, with food to be cooked,[5] and had come to her house, after tasting, at a tank, oil of Panic seed, and she saw that he had died from that emetic, being tormented with fear that a stigma would attach to her on account of his being possessed of wealth, swallowed that very emetic, in order that she might die. When she persisted in this endeavour, there was produced in her intellectual ability; and so, after she had to a certain extent studied the three Vedas, the Raghuvaṁça, the Kāmaçāstra of Vātsyāyana, and the writings of Cāṇakya on morals and the principles of government, she went with her daughter, named Vijayā, who was in her fresh youth and learned, and adorning with her presence and that of her daughter the royal assembly-hall, said to king Bhoja,—

His valour extends even to the extirpation of the race of his enemies, his glory over the vessel of the universe,
His munificence extends to satisfying the wants of petitioners, as this earth extends to the sea,

[1] I read *dhyātavyaḥ* with α, β and P.
[2] This is omitted in α and β, but P has *dhyātavyaṁ padam akshayaṁ*. This I translate.
[3] I read *yugmaçlokaṁ* with α and β.
[4] For some account of the poetess Çītā or Sītā, see Navasāhasāṅkacarita, by Bühler and Zachariæ, p. 30, note 2. They refer to Pischel in Festgruss an Böhtlingk. The poetess Sītā is mentioned in the Bhojaprabandha (edition of 1895, Kalyāṇa, Bombay), pp. 88, 89, 147, 204, and some verses by her are given.
[5] Here I follow α, which reads *kārpaṭikaṁ pākāyāçanam upanīya sūryaparvaṇi.* P has the same reading, but *pākayāçanam*; β also, but *upādāya* for *upanīya*. The words seem to have been misplaced in the text by the printers. But β goes on to represent that the cook Çītā ate the food, not the oil. I find in α, *āsādya* for *āsvādya*. All the MSS. give *tasmin sthire*, which I do not understand.

His faith extends to the measure of the two feet of the husband [1] of the daughter of the mountain,
But the other virtues of the glorious king Bhoja extend without limit.

Then king Bhoja made Vijayā an inmate of his harem.[2] Once on a time, being touched by the rays of the moon within the lattice, she repeated this :—

Cease, O planet adorned with a spot, this sport of touching people with thy rays,
Thou art not fit for touching, being the remains of the adornment of the person of the husband of Caṇḍī.[3]

On this point much is to be said, but it must be learnt from tradition. Here ends the story of the learned Çītā.

Then two paṇḍits, related as sister's husband and wife's brother,[4] who were called Mayūra and Bāṇa, and were engaged in a perpetual rivalry on account of their own respective literary merits, had obtained an honourable position in the king's court. One day the paṇḍit Bāṇa went to his sister's house at night, to pay her a visit, and as he was lying down at the door, he heard his sister's husband trying to conciliate her, and paying attention to what was being said, he managed to catch these lines :—

The night is almost gone, and the emaciated moon is, so to speak, wasting away,
This lamp, having come into the power of sleep, seems drowsily to nod,
Haughtiness is generally appeased by submission, but, alas ! you do not, even in spite of submission, abandon your anger,—

When Bāṇa had heard these three lines repeated over and over again by Mayūra, he added a fourth line :—

Cruel one, your heart also is hard from immediate proximity to your breast.

When Mayūra's wife heard this fourth line from the mouth of her brother, being angry and ashamed, she cursed him, saying, "Become a leper." Owing to the might of the vow of his sister, who observed strictly her vow of fidelity to her husband, Bāṇa was seized with the malady of leprosy from that very moment. In the morning he went into the

1 i.e. Çiva, the husband of Pārvatī.

2 I have omitted the poetical effusions to which Vijayā gave vent on this particular occasion.

3 This is probably an allusion to the fact that Çiva wears the moon's crescent round or above his central eye. Caṇḍī = Pārvatī. The word translated by "remains of the adornment" is *nirmālyaṁ*. The word that means "ray," also means "band."

4 *Bhārukaçālakau*. It is clear that *çālaka* = *syāla*. It is probable that these two poets lived in the time of Çrīharṣa, 606 to 648 A.D.

assembly-hall of the king, with his body covered with a rug. When Mayūra, with a soft voice, like a peacock,[1] said to him in the Prākrit language, "Ten million blessings on you!" the king, who was foremost among the discerning, looked at Bāṇa with astonishment, and thought in his own mind that Bāṇa would, on a future occasion, make use of some device for propitiating the deity; but Bāṇa rose up from his seat in the assembly-hall utterly abashed, and setting up a post on the border of the town, he placed under it a fire-pit, full of charcoal made of Khadira wood, himself mounted on a palanquin[2] at the end of the post, and began uttering a hymn of praise to the sun-god.[3] At the end of every stanza he cut away, with his knife, one support of the palanquin,[4] and at the end of five stanzas five supports had been cut away by him, and he was left clinging to the end of the palanquin. While the sixth stanza was being recited, the sun-god appeared in visible form, and owing to his favour, Bāṇa at once acquired a body of the colour of pure gold.[5] On a subsequent day he came with his body anointed with golden sandal-wood and clothed in a magnificent white garment. When the king saw the healthy condition of his body, Mayūra represented that it was all due to the favour of the sun-god. Then Bāṇa pierced him in a vital spot with an arrow-like speech.[6] "If the propitiating of a god is an easy matter, then do you also display some wonderful performance in this line." When he said this, that Mayūra aimed[7] at him the following retort, "What need has a healthy man of one skilled in the science of medicine? Nevertheless, so much I will do. You, after cutting your hands and feet[8] with a knife to confirm your words, propitiated the sun with your sixth stanza, but I will propitiate Bhavānī with the sixth syllable of my first stanza." Having made this promise, he entered the back part of the temple of Caṇḍikā sitting in a comfortable litter, and when he uttered the sixth syllable of the poem beginning, "Do not interrupt your coquetry,"[9] by the favour of Caṇḍikā visibly manifested his tender body seemed to be entirely renewed, and then he looked at the temple of the goddess fronting it,[10] and

[1] *Mayūra* means peacock. I read *prati* after *taṁ* with α, β and P.

[2] Sanskrit *sikkaka*.

[3] Mayūra, not Bāṇa, is the reputed author of the Sūryaçataka, printed recently in the Kāvyamālā (No. 19, 1889), with the commentary of Tribhuvanapāla. The poem will also be found in Häberlin's Anthology.

[4] In the Sanskrit *sikkakapadaṁ*.

[5] I find in α and β, °*kāyakāntiḥ*, the beauty of a body of pure gold.

[6] *Bāṇa* means arrow.

[7] Literally, "put it on the string like an arrow."

[8] *Ca* should no doubt follow *pāṇī*, as in α and β. The author seems to have followed here a different version of the story.

[9] This poem is called the Caṇḍīçataka and is attributed to Bāṇa, not Mayūra. It has been published in the Kāvyamālā, beginning in No. 19 (Bombay, 1887).

[10] The reading of the text is supported here by P and α. It will be observed that the Jaina teacher afterwards faces the temple.

the courtiers, headed by the king, came to meet him, and uttered the cry of "Bravo! bravo!" and so with great jubilation he entered the city.

At this conjuncture, the law of the false believers being triumphant, some principal men, who hated the true religion, said to the king, "If among the adherents of the Jaina system any such display of power [1] takes place, then establish the white-robed Jainas in your territory, but if not, then banish them." No sooner had this been said than the king summoned the teacher, Mānatuṅga, and said, "Show some miracle of your deities." He said, "As our deities are emancipated from the bonds of existence, what miracle is possible for them here? Nevertheless, I will show you a manifestation of the power of their servants, the lower gods, that will astonish the universe." When he had said this, he caused himself to be bound with forty-four fetters, and placing himself in the back part of the temple of Ṛṣabha, who was worshipped in that city, he composed a new hymn of praise, full of spells, beginning, "Having duly worshipped the two feet of the Jina illuminating the brightness of the prostrate crest-jewels of devoted gods," [2] and with each stanza of the hymn one fetter broke, until he had completed the hymn with a number of stanzas equal to the number of fetters. Then he faced the temple and preached the law.

Here ends the story of the great teacher Mānatuṅga.

Then, one day, the king began to praise the learning of the paṇḍits of his country, and to blame the land of Gujarāt for the stupidity of its people, when a representative of the king of Gujarāt [3] said to him, "Not one of your distinguished paṇḍits is fit to be weighed in the balance even with a man of our country who has been a cowherd from his childhood." Then king Bhīma, having been informed of this occurrence, sent to king Bhoja's capital, once on a time, a paṇḍit dressed as a cowherd,[4] and a *hetaera.* When they arrived there, the cowherd was taken before the king in the early morning, and Bhoja ordered him to say something, so he said,—

Bhoja, tell me what kind of fitness has this ornament on your neck,
Why do you place a barrier between Lakṣmī on your breast and Sarasvatī
in your mouth? [5]

This is what the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa cowherd said.[6] Then the king

[1] Here P gives *prabhāvavibhavaḥ*. I follow the text.
[2] This is the beginning of the Bhaktāmarastotra. The feet of the Jina increase the brightness of the crest-jewels of the immortals. I have added a few words taken from the poem, to complete the sense. It contains forty-four stanzas.
[3] *Sthānapuruṣa*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 188) gives "man of the country" as the equivalent of this word. It is clear that this man was a native of Gujarāt. Perhaps it might be translated "consul."
[4] I read *gopa°* for *go°* with P and β.
[5] According to Hemacandra (iv. 352) *Lacchihi* must be locative singular. In α and β I find *uri Lacchihi muhi Sarasatihi*. P gives *nibaddhī kāiṁ*.
[6] These words are not in α and β.

was astonished at his speech. When the assembly-hall was adorned with visitors, king Bhoja, seeing in front of him the *hetaera* fully attired, addressed to her this unexpected speech, "Why here?" Then that fair one, being a storehouse of intellect, chosen by Sarasvatī as a vessel of her favour, as if through partiality for her own kind, resembling incarnate cleverness,[1] understood the real meaning of his remark though it was obscure, and returned this answer to the king, "They are asking." The face of king Bhoja was expanded at her appropriate reply, and he ordered three lakhs to be given to her. Though he said it to the superintendent of the treasury three times, he, not understanding the real state of affairs, did not give the money. Then the king said out loud to him, "Out of regard for the good of my country, and owing to the utter niggardliness of my character,[2] I order only three lakhs to be given to her, but from the point of view of generosity even a kingdom[3] would be too small a present." When the king said this, the superintendent of the treasury, at the instigation of all the courtiers, asked the king the connection between the two utterances, and received this answer,[4] "Observing that the two lines of collyrium applied to the outer corners of her two eyes had simultaneously extended themselves to her ears, I said, 'Why here?' But she, in accordance with the rule of the Prakrit grammar,[5] that the plural should be used instead of the dual, answered, 'They are asking.' She, in fact, gave as her answer that her two eyes had gone disguised as collyrium-streaks to her ears, to inquire whether I was the very king Bhoja that the ears had previously heard about. So she is simply Sarasvatī manifested in visible form. Accordingly, what are three lakhs by way of recompense to her?" Then, as he had uttered the words "three lakhs" three times (in speaking to the superintendent of the treasury), he caused nine lakhs to be given to her.

Now that king, even from his childhood, was unremitting in the practice of virtue, because he recognized the truth embodied in the following lines:—

If these people only saw death, which is impending over their heads,
Even their food would give them no pleasure, much less the doing what
they ought not to do.

One day, just after he had woke up from sleep, a learned man came to

[1] I substitute with *a* and *β* and P, *çarīriṇī* for *çiromaṇī*.
[2] I find in *a*, *deçasāmyāt prakṛtikārpaṇyāt lakṣatrayaṁ*. I have followed the printed text.
[3] Even a rich kingdom according to *a*.
[4] I read with P, *pṛcchannityabhidadhe*. This gives a better sense than the printed text.
[5] P and *β* insert *sūtra* between *prākṛta* and *lakṣaṇāt*, "according to the direction of the Prākrit Sūtra." I find *sūtra* similarly inserted in *a*. The Sūtra will be found on page 157 of Cowell's Edition of Vararuci's Prākṛta Prakāça.

him and said, "The lord of the dead[1] is approaching you mounted on a swift horse, consequently you must be prompt in the practice of virtue." Accordingly he gave every day an appropriate gift to the learned author of this speech. One day he sat down on the throne in the hall of audience in the afternoon, and he threw a pān-leaf into his mouth and devoured it, before the areca-nut and other ingredients were presented from the store in the betel-box. When those who knew the usual etiquette asked him why he did that, he said, "As men are within the teeth of death, what they give and what they enjoy may be said to be their own, but about the rest there is a doubt, and so—

Every day, when one gets up from one's bed, one must consider what good action is to be done to-day,
The sun will go to its setting, taking away a part of one's life.
People ask what news there is with me, saying, 'Is there health in your body?'
How can health be ours? Life departs day by day.
One should do to-day the duty of to-morrow, and in the forenoon the duty of the afternoon,
For death will not consider whether one has done one's work or not.[2]
Is death dead, is old age decrepit, are disasters destroyed?
Are diseases then arrested,[3] that these people are so merry?"

Here ends the story of the four couplets on impermanence.

Then, once on a time, king Bhoja asked king Bhīma by the mouth of an ambassador, for four things. The first thing exists in this world and not in the next; the second thing exists in the next world and not in this; the third thing exists in both; the fourth thing is non-existent in both. The learned were puzzled about the matter. So a drum was beaten round the city, and by the advice of a *hetaera*, (who solved the problem), the four things were sent, in the shape of a *hetaera*, an ascetic, an exceedingly liberal man, and a gambler. Here ends the story about the four things.

On another occasion, king Bhoja, as he was roaming about at night in search of adventures, heard the following couplet being recited by a certain poor man's wife:—

Ten conditions are allotted to every man, so runs the popular proverb that we hear,
But my husband has only one condition, the remaining nine have been obtained by others.[4]

[1] Yama, the god of death, who generally rides on a buffalo.

[2] The first three couplets will be found in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche with slight variations: 1 is No. 1204, 2 is No. 5867, 3 is No. 6595. Böhtlingk translates *kim adya sukṛtaṁ kṛtaṁ* by "*welches gute Werk wird heute vollbracht?*"

[3] I follow the reading of the printed text. But perhaps *vyādhitāḥ*, the reading of α, β, and apparently C, is better. This would mean, "Are diseases diseased?"

[4] I have endeavoured to translate the reading of the printed text, but I find that

The king, feeling pity for her miserable condition, summoned her husband to the court in the morning, and thinking of something that would be to her advantage in the long run, gave him two citrons, putting in each of them a jewel worth a lakh, in order to benefit him. He, not knowing that fact, sold them for a price in the vegetable market, and the man who bought them gave those two citrons to some one as a present, and he gave them to king Bhoja.

Even if a jewel rolled about by the great waves of the tide has reached a mountain brook,
It again sets out on its journey and returns to the ocean, the home of jewels.

Considering this, king Bhoja came to the conclusion that fortune was right,[1] for,—

Even when the rains gratify the whole world, the *cātaka* will certainly not receive
One drop of water, for how is to be attained the unattainable?

Here ends the story of the citrons.

Then, on another occasion, the king, having secretly taught a pet parrot, during a certain night, the words, "Alone is not becoming," instructed it that it was next morning to utter these words in the assembly of paṇḍits.[2] Accordingly, when the parrot said this, the king asked the paṇḍits what the parrot meant, but they, not being able to solve the problem, asked for a term of six months. Then Vararuci, the head of them, wandering about in a foreign land, in order to discover the solution, was thus addressed by a certain herdsman, "I will tell your master the answer to the puzzle, but I cannot on account of my age carry this dog,[3] and on account of my affection for him I cannot leave him." When he said this, Vararuci put the dog upon his own shoulder, and taking the herdsman with him, went to the audience-hall of the king, and informed him that the herdsman would give him an answer to his riddle. Then the king asked the herdsman the meaning of that very utterance of the parrot. He answered, "In this world of living creatures, O king, covetousness alone is not becoming." The king again

in P the second line ends thus, *avari te corihiṁ liddha*, those remaining ones have been taken by thieves. The reading of α and β gives the following sense, "The gods have framed for men ten states apiece, but my husband has only one, the (other) nine have been stolen by thieves." I take *avari* as equivalent to *upari*.

[1] The word "fortune" is omitted in α and β. The passage will therefore mean, "Reflecting on the case of the poor man, the king considered the statement in the above couplet to be true."

[2] I have adopted *paṇḍitasabhāyāṁ* from α.

[3] I find in α and β, *çvānaçāvaṁ*, this puppy.

asked him, "Why?" He answered, "That a Brahman carries on his shoulder a dog, which he ought not even to touch, is a manifestation of covetousness; [1] therefore covetousness is not becoming."

Then, on another occasion, the king, roaming about at night accompanied only by a friend, being afflicted with thirst, went to the house of a *hetaera*, and by the mouth of his friend asked for water. Then the *çambhalī* [2] with genuine affection, after some delay, brought a cocoanut-shell full of sugar-cane juice, not without distress. When the king's friend asked her the cause of her distress, she said, "In old times a stalk of sugar-cane contained enough juice in all to fill a pitcher together with a *vāhaṭikā*,[3] but now that the king's mind is evilly disposed towards his subjects,[4] for a long time the stalk of a sugar-cane has yielded only enough juice to fill a *vāhaṭikā*; this is the cause of my distress." When the king heard that, he reflected that, when a certain merchant exhibited a great play in the temple of Çiva, he had formed the intention of plundering him, and that so the *çambhalī's* speech[5] was true; then he went back from that place, and after reaching his own palace, went to sleep. The next day the king, having become full of compassion for his subjects, went to the house of the *hetaera*: and then the *çambhalī* said, "It is evident from the sign, that there is abundance of sugar-cane juice, that the king is now loving to his subjects." So the king was pleased with her. Here ends the story of the sugar-cane juice.

Then the king was in the habit of going continually to worship his family goddess that was set up in a temple in a suburb of the city of Dhārā, and one day the goddess, who had been won over by his devotion, appearing in visible form, said to the king, "The enemies' army has come near, so depart quickly." With these words she dismissed him. Immediately he saw that he was surrounded by the Gujarātī soldiers. He galloped off on his horse, which was of surpassing swiftness, and as he was entering the gate of the city of Dhārā, two Gujarātī cavalry soldiers, named Ālūya and Akolūya, threw their bows over his neck and saying,[6] "So near have you come to being killed," let him go.

[1] The covetousness of Brahmans is a perpetual subject of satire in Sanskrit literature. We learn from page 171 of the translation of the Harsa Carita by Cowell and Thomas, that a "Brahman without greed" is hard to find.

[2] i.q. *kuṭṭanī*.

[3] I presume that *vāhaṭikā* is the Gujarātī *vāṭī*, which has the following meanings: 1, a saucer-form vessel of metal; 2, a half of a cocoanut-shell; anything hollow like a cup.

[4] I find in *α*, *viruddhe nṛpamānase*, and in *β*, *viruddhamānase nṛpe*. I follow the latter, as P gives *viruddhamānase pe*. It is clear that *nṛ°* has fallen out. No doubt the *visarga* after *rasa* should be deleted as in P.

[5] I find in P *tadvacastathyam eveti*.

[6] I read *vadadbhyāṁ* with *α*. There is a misprint in the text.

King Bhoja, who seemed to think, "It is not strung," but when the strung
bow reached his neck,
He saw that it was strung, being hurled from his horse.[1]

Here ends the story of the cavalry soldiers.

Then, on another occasion, that very king, returning from his royal circuit, entered the gate of the city with his horse let go at pleasure,[2] and frightened the people. As the spectators were running in all directions, the vibration of the earth produced by their trampling threw down on the ground and broke the vessels of a woman who sold buttermilk; and the king, seeing that her face was as radiant as ever, though the milk was running like the stream of a river, said to her, "What is the reason that you are not despondent?" When the king asked her this question, she said,—

Having slain a king, and having beheld my husband bitten[3] by a serpent,
I became by the power of fate a *hetaera* in a foreign country,
Having married my own son, I then entered the funeral fire:
Being now the wife of a cowherd, how can I mourn for buttermilk.

They said that from that place a great river[4] took its rise.

Here ends the story of the cowherd's wife.

One day, the king, being happy, was joyously practising the art of archery, by aiming at a small rock. At that moment the teacher Candana, wearing the dress of a Çvetāmbara, came to have an interview with him, and as he was one who pleased by his ready wit, he uttered an appropriate saying,—

Let this rock be pierced again and again, but henceforth, king, be merciful,
and abandon
Your delight in the vicious custom of piercing stones by way of sport, with
the bow,

[1] This couplet is not found in α and β. It is found in a different form in the Kīrtikaumudī of Someçvara (ed. Kāthavaṭe), ii. 18.

*Asau guṇīti matveva Bhojaḥ kaṇṭham upeyuṣā*
*Dhanuṣā guṇinā yasya naçyannaçvān na pātitaḥ.*

By whose strung bow, though it reached his neck, Bhoja, when flying, was not hurled from his horse, as if supposing that he was virtuous (or strung). The bow belonged of course to Bhīma. P reads *yaçca paçyannacvānnipātitaḥ*. It is evident that Merutuṅga quotes from memory.

[2] The text has *sumukhamuktena*, but P, α, and β have *sukhamuktena*. This I have followed.

[3] I read *daṣṭaṁ* with P.

[4] I think that we ought to read *mahānadī*. I find in α, *mahīpatir mahīyasi nadī*, and in β, *mahīpatin mahīyasī nadī*. P omits the passage. But *mahī*, the reading of the printed text, may perhaps be justified by the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (ix. 1, 4) where a river Mahī is mentioned. (Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung, p. 11.)

If this amusement is allowed to extend further, you will make the family of principal mountains [1] the butt of your archery,
Then, O best of kings, the earth, losing its supports, will go to the bottom of Hades.

The king was astonished at the wonderful poetical ability displayed in this stanza, but, after reflecting a little, he said, "The fact that you, being one who has entirely mastered all the sacred books, have uttered a line beginning 'Dhārā is ruined,'—that forebodes some great misfortune."

And thus it came to pass.

The queen of the country of Ḍāhala, Dematī by name, was a great witch, and once on a time, when she was about to have a child, she kept continually asking the astrologers, "In what auspicious moment must a son be born in order to be lord of the whole earth?" Then they carefully considered the matter, and said, "When the benign planets are in the signs that contain their exaltation, and are at the same time in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth houses, which are called centres, and the malign planets are in the third, sixth and eleventh houses,[2]—a son, that is born in such a moment, will be king of the whole earth." When she heard that response, she delayed, by employing magic arts, the birth of her child for sixteen watches beyond the natural day for her delivery, and in the moment fixed by the astrologers she gave birth to a son named Karṇa. But owing to the injury to her health produced by thus delaying the birth, she died in the eighth watch. Because Karṇa was born in an auspicious moment, he conquered by his valour the circle of the regions, he was obeyed by one hundred and thirty-six kings, he attained great excellence in the four royal sciences, and he was praised by Vidyāpati and other great poets. Thus the stanzas ran :—

[1] There are seven principal mountains in India. The mountains are held to support the earth. But *dhvastādhārā*, if resolved into two words, means "Dhārā is ruined."

[2] I owe this translation to Professor Jacobi of Bonn. He thinks it impossible that the benign planets should stand in the *ucca* signs and at the same time in the "centres," since the former are so disposed that they could not well come into the position of the "centres." At the same time it appears that the horoscope under consideration is derived from the rules of the Jātaka. For in the Laghujātaka, ix. 23, it is said *triprabhṛtibhir uccasthair nṛpavaṁçabhavā bhavanti rājānaḥ*. By means of three or more planets in their exaltation, children born in a royal race become kings; and ix. 25—

*Eko' pi nṛpatijanmaprado grahaḥ svoccagaḥ suhṛddṛṣṭaḥ*
*Balibhiḥ kendropagatais triprabhṛtibhir avanipālabhavaḥ.*

Even one planet in exaltation and looked at by a friendly planet will produce the birth of a king; three or more powerful planets in centres will produce an emperor of the earth. Professor Jacobi refers me to his dissertation, "De astrologiæ Indicæ 'horā' appellatæ originibus:" Bonn, 1872. I have translated his Latin into English.

On the face was the hanging of a necklace, on the two eyes the weight of a bracelet,
On the hips ornamental tattooing, and the two hands were marked with the patch;
In the forest, O king Karṇa, why has this strange style of adornment
Now, alas! befallen the wives of thy enemies, owing to the might of destiny?[1]

Abandoning the breast of Viṣṇu too much engrossed by the *gopīs*,
The goddess of Fortune dwells in your eyes, mistaking them, I think, for lotuses,
Since, O fortunate king Karṇa, wherever goes the spray of your eyebrow, wavy like a creeper,
There is broken the seal of poverty, brittle through fear.

In this way was king Karṇa praised. One day that king sent a message to Bhoja by the mouth of an ambassador, "In your city there are 104 temples built by your orders, and even so many in number are your poetical compositions, and so many are your titles: therefore conquer me in a battle with a force of four arms,[2] or in single combat, or as a disputant in the four sciences, or in the faculty of munificence, and become a possessor of 105 titles; otherwise, by conquering you, I shall become the lord of 137 kings." When king Bhoja received this message, the lotus of his face became faded, and reflecting that the king of the city of Benares was apt to be victorious in every way, and considering himself as good as conquered, he humbly solicited him, and got him to agree to the following arrangement, "I in Avantī, and Karṇa in Benares, shall, on the same day, and at the same moment, select the sites[3] of two temples fifty cubits in height, and begin to build them, running them up in rivalry with one another, and on whichever king's temple the finial[4] and the flag shall first be set up, on that day of festival the rival king must abandon his umbrella

[1] The expression translated "ornamental tattooing" may also mean "a row of leaves," and the word translated "patch" may also refer to the Tilaka tree. The word *kaŋkaṇa*, which means "bracelet," may also, according to the smaller Petersburg Dictionary, mean "drops of water," and *hāra*, which means "necklace," may also mean "deprivation," "removing," "loss."

[2] i.e. elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. The four sciences are the triple Veda, logic and metaphysics, the science of government, and practical arts.

[3] See Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 80. "A trench is dug of the depth of the knee, and the earth taken out is shovelled in again. If the earth stands above the level of the ground, the site is good, if it is even with the surrounding soil, it is tolerable, if not, bad. Another method is to fill the trench with water over-night; if the water runs away, the site is bad." The authority will be found in Āçvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtra, ii. 8. It will be observed that Āçvalāyana uses the words *garta* and *paripūrayet*.

[4] Dr. Burgess informs me that *kalaça* is really the finial of the spire, which is shaped like a vase or urn. The setting up of the flagstaff is sometimes a separate function from the setting up of the *kalaça*, according to Mr. Cousens.

and chowries,[1] and mount an elephant, and come in." When this agreement of king Bhoja, which was quite in accordance with Karṇa's wishes, reached that sovereign, he was eager to defeat king Bhoja in that very way, and so both temples were begun separately on the same day, in the same moment. Karṇa, who was having his own temple constructed[2] with all diligence, asked his architect, "Tell me, in one day between the rising and the setting of the sun, how much work can be run up?"[3] Then that architect on the fourteenth day, which was a day on which the Vedas are not read,[4] began there eleven temples, seven cubits in height, at dawn, and had them finished by the end of the day, as far as the setting up of the finial, and showed them to the king. The king was delighted in his heart with all that despatch of work, and as the finishing touches[5] were being put to his temple, he diligently imposed the finial on his own temple, and ascertained a lucky moment for setting up the flag, and in accordance with that promise summoned king Bhoja by an ambassador. Then king Bhoja, sovereign of the country of Mālava, being afraid of breaking his promise, and not being able to go in the required way, remained silent. Then king Karṇa, as soon as he had set up the flag on the temple, set out with the above-mentioned number of kings,[6] to make war on king Bhoja, and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack the country of Mālava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom. Then king Bhoja, being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden corporal malady took hold of Bhoja, and king Bhīma, as all the mountain passes and fords were closed, and his own officers refused to allow any foreigners to approach him, applied by means of one of his servants to his own diplomatic agent Ḍāmara, who was in the court of king Karṇa, in order to ascertain the condition of Bhoja. Dāmara taught the servant a *gāthā*, and sent him off, and so he came to the assembly-hall of king Bhīma. The *gāthā* ran as follows:—

The fruit of the mango is fully ripe; the stalk is loose; the wind is high;
The branch is withering; we do not know the end of the business.

This *gāthā* induced king Bhīma to remain quiet.

Then Bhoja, as his journey to the other world drew nigh, performed the

[1] The distinctive emblems of a monarch.
[2] I read *nirmāpayan* with P: β has *nirmāyayan*; α, *nirmapayan*. I omit *tatra* with these MSS.
[3] Here P, α and β read *karmasthāyo*. I have attempted to translate the text. I suppose *kiyān karmasthāyo* would mean, "How much construction can be done?"
[4] Manu, iv. 113.
[5] Perhaps we should read *kapālabandhe* with α and β. This might mean, "as the construction of the dome of his temple was going on." I do not understand the printed text.
[6] Viz. 136.

religious duties appropriate to the occasion, and gave the following order, "After my death, my hands are to be placed outside my chariot," and then went to heaven.

Whose hand, O wife and son? Alas! whose hand, O all my house?
Alone I come, alone I go, having rubbed my two hands and feet.

This speech of Bhoja's was repeated to the people by a *hetaera*, and Karṇa, hearing of that occurrence, broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja. Then Bhīma sent the following order to Ḍāmara, "You must either give me the half of the kingdom stipulated for by me, obtaining it from king Karṇa, or your own head."[1] Accordingly, desirous of carrying out the orders of his sovereign, he entered the royal pavilion with thirty-two foot-soldiers, and took Karṇa prisoner,[2] when he was asleep in the middle of the day. Then he put in one division a shrine of gods, of which the chief were Çiva, the Çālagrāma stone and Gaṇeça,[3] and in the other he placed all the property of the kingdom,[4] and said to the king, "Take whichever half you please." Having said this, he kept quiet for sixteen watches, but afterwards by order of king Bhīma he took the shrine, and made a present of it to king Bhīma. Now the whole of the story is summed up in the two following connected stanzas:—

Two temples of a god, fifty cubits in height, having in the same auspicious moment
Been previously begun, whichever of the monarchs first imposes the finial, to him
The other king must come without umbrella and chowries, this having been agreed,
King Bhoja, his mind being averse to expenditure, was conquered by king Karṇa.
King Bhoja having gone to heaven, the very powerful Karṇa, while engaged
In sacking the town of Dhārā, by solicitation made Bhīma his ally,
And Karṇa was taken prisoner[5] by Bhīma's servant Ḍāmara, and from him were extracted
A golden shrine, and the lord Çiva associated with Gaṇeça.

[1] I read with α and β, *matparikalpitaṁ rājyārdhaṁ nijaçiro vā*.
[2] For the *chāndyaṁ* of the text α has *banddhyai*, β, *chāndye*, P, *bāndyaṁ*. I have given what I suppose to be the meaning.
[3] This translation is suggested by Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 552, "Every Hindoo has in the Devmandeer within his house a small throne upon which seven or eight idols are placed, as the Shālagrām stone (a representative of Vishnoo), Bal Mookoond (the same deity in the form of the infant Krishn), Shiva, Gunputee, Doorga Devee, Sooruj (the sun), Hunooman or others." (I have preserved the spelling of Forbes.) I take *cintāmaṇi* to refer to the Çālagrāma stone. I find *rājñā* in α and β, but I have followed the printed text. P has *rāja*.
[4] P has *rājyavastuni* with the *u* short. This I follow.
[5] Here we have *bandīkṛtāt°*.

Then the poet Karpūra recited in the presence of Karṇa the poem beginning "On the face was the hanging of a necklace." But as he used ungrammatical expressions, the king did not give anything to that poet. Then the poet Nācirāja uttered the following stanza,—

Viṣṇu, the enemy of Kaiṭabha, holds these three worlds in the hollow of his belly;
The king of the snakes joyfully supports him with this great weight inside him,
And that king of the snakes was the necklace of Çiva; bearing that god in your heart,
You, king Karṇa, have destroyed in your enemies even the mention of valour.

Thereupon the king recompensed him as follows,—

He gave a crore of gold pieces and ten furious elephants,
This was given by king Karṇa in his joy to the poet Nācirāja.

Then the poet Karpūra, incited by his wife, uttered this stanza in the road, in front of the poet Nācirāja, as he was coming along,—

Lady, who are you? Do you not know even me, poet Karpūra? Are you Sarasvatī?
Tell me truly, why are you sad? I have been robbed, my child. By what evil destiny, mother?
Have your two eyes, Muñja and Bhoja, been taken? How do you subsist?
The long-lived poet Nācirāja acts the part of a stick to the blind.

The poet Nācirāja, being pleased, gave to the poet Karpūra all that the king had given to himself.

Such are some of the various stories recorded about Bhoja, the rest must be considered to be based on oral tradition.

King, when the cloud of your hand had begun its auspicious ascent in the ten quarters of the heavens,
And was raining the nectar-flood of gold, with the splendour of the trembling golden bracelet flickering like lightning,
The river of fame became swollen; all virtues were refreshed like the earth;
The lake of petitioners was filled, and the forest-fire of the poverty of the learned was extinguished.
Like the wishing-tree, having frightened away by his munificent gifts all poverty on the earth,

Like an incarnate Vṛhaspati, having swiftly[1] put together various compositions,
In Rādhāvedha like Arjuna, summoned speedily[2] by the bands of immortals,
Whose hearts were long ago made to wish for him by his glory, king Bhoja went to heaven.

Here ends the second chapter in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi composed by the *ācārya* Merutuṅga, entitled the description of the various achievements of the kings Bhoja and Bhīma.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE HISTORY OF SIDDHARĀJA.

THEN, once on a time, in the land of Gujarāt, the rains having been checked by drought, the people of the country were unable to render to the king the share of the produce due to him, and so they were brought to Pattana by officers employed by him, and their presence was notified to him. Then, one day, in the early morning, prince Mūlarāja, as he was wandering in that direction, saw all the people being harassed by the king's officers, in connection with the king's share that was to be deducted from the grain,[3] and having heard all the circumstances from his attendants, he had his eyes slightly suffused with tears from compassion. He pleased the king by his unequalled skill in the *manège*, and having been commanded by the king to choose some boon, he requested that it might be laid up in store.[4] The king said to him, "Why do you not ask for something?" He answered, "Because I do not feel certain that I shall obtain what I want." Then, as the king pressed him exceedingly, he asked him, by way of boon, that those heads of families[5] might be relieved from payment of the king's share. Then the king's eyes were filled with tears of joy, and he consented, saying, "So be it;" and said to him, "Make another request." But the prince remembered the stanza,—

1 I read *javāddṛbdha* with β: α has *javā;* P has *javāt* or *javān.*
2 I read *srāg:* β gives *drāg.*
3 I follow P which gives *sasya-nidānī-bhūta-dānī-sambandhe:* α gives °*dāna*°, β, °*dānīm*°. It is evident from line 12 of page 129, and the first line of page 131 that *dānī* means the king's share.
4 Cp. Chalmers's translation of the Jātakas, Vol. I., p. 24, and my translation of the Kathā Koça, p. 48.
5 Or perhaps simply Koonbees. See Rās Mālā, p. 541 and ff.

There are mean people by thousands, intent only on the business of nourishing themselves,
That man alone is chief of the good, who makes his neighbour's concern his own,
The submarine fire drinks up the ocean, to fill its insatiate maw,
But the cloud, to put an end to the affliction of the world produced by the heat.[1]

By the help of the teaching of this stanza, the prince restrained excessive greed, and owing to his soul being elevated by pride, he simply returned to his palace without asking for anything.[2] Then, on the third day after, being praised by the heads of families,[3] that prince Mūlarāja went to the heavenly world. The king and the courtiers and the people, who were previously begged off by him, were for a long time plunged in a sea of grief on that account, but at length wise men, by dint of various admonitions, extracted their dart of grief. Then, as in the next year, all the corn grew up successfully, thanks to the rain, the cultivators offered to pay the share due to the king for two years, the past as well as the present year,[4] but the king refused to receive it. Thereupon they convoked a court of appeal, and of the members of that court the characteristics were as follows,—

That is not a court in which there are not elders,
Those are not elders who do not utter justice,
And that is not justice in which there is not truth,
That is not truth which is pervaded by fiction.[5]

In accordance with these principles the members of the court decided the matter, and made the king take his share for the previous year and that year. Then, with that money, and other money contributed from the treasury, king Bhīma caused to be built a new temple, called Tripuruṣaprāsāda, for the welfare of prince Mūlarāja. He also caused to be built in Pattana the temples of Bhīmeçvaradeva and the goddess Bhīruāṇī. He began to reign in 1077 V.S. and reigned forty-two years, ten months, and nine days. His queen, named Udayamati, caused to be made in Pattana a new reservoir, surpassing even the Sahasraliŋga lake. Then king Karṇa's coronation took place in 1120 V.S., on the seventh day of

[1] This is No. 2032 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He finds it in the Vikramāŋkacarita, and Çārŋgadharapaddhati.
[2] Here I follow P which reads *tataḥ kimapyathānarthya mānonnatayā*, omitting *bhāyaḥ*.
[3] Or Koonbee folk (?).
[4] For *pradiçyamane*, P, α and β give *pravIçyamāne*.
[5] This is No. 3483 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He finds it in the Mahābhārata, the Hitopadeça, and the Çārŋgadharapaddhati.

the black fortnight of Caitra, on a Monday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta, in the *lagna* of Pisces.

Now it happened that a king of Karṇāṭa, named Çubhakeçin, was run away with by his horse and carried into a forest, and while he was enjoying in some part of it the shade of a leafy tree, a forest conflagration approached him. Owing to a sense of gratitude, he did not like to leave that tree that had benefited him by giving him rest, and so he made his life a burnt-offering in that fire, together with the tree. Then his son, named Jayakeçin, was placed on his throne by his ministers, and in course of time he had born to him a daughter, named Mayaṇalladevī. And she, merely on hearing the name of Someçvara mentioned by some votaries of Çiva, remembered her former birth. She said to herself, "In a former life I was a Brāhmaṇī, and I performed twelve fasts of a month's duration, and on the completion of each fast I gave away twelve things, and then I set out to worship Someçvara, and I reached the town of Bāhuloḍa,[1] but not being able to pay the duty levied there, I was not allowed to proceed further, and in despair thereat I made an earnest aspiration that in my next birth I might bring about the remission of that duty, and then I died and was born in this family." This was her recollection with regard to her former birth. Then, in order that she might procure the remission of the tax at Bāhuloḍa, she longed for the king of Gujarāt as an eligible bridegroom, and told the whole story to her father. Then king Jayakeçin, hearing of that circumstance, asked Karṇa through his ministers, to accept the gift of his daughter Mayaṇalladevī's hand.[2] But king Karṇa, having heard of her plainness, was indifferent to her, so at last, as Mayaṇalladevī was obstinately determined on marrying him, her father sent her to king Karṇa, as a maiden choosing her own husband. Then king Karṇa, having himself secretly observed the fact of her ugliness, became altogether neglectful of her. Accordingly Mayaṇalladevī and her eight companions made up their minds to sacrifice their lives in order to compass the death of the king; but Karṇa's mother Udayamati,[3] hearing of this intention of theirs, and not being able to witness their death, made a vow to live or die with them, for—

The great are not as much afflicted in their own calamity, as in the calamities of others,
The earth, which is immovable in its own shocks, trembles in the woes of others.

[1] Now Bhālod, a ford of the Nerbudda river a little above Shookulteerth. (Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 84.)

[2] Here P reads *Atha Jayakeçirājñā Çrīkarnaḥ svapradhānaiḥ svasutāyā Mayaṇalla-devyā*, &c. There seems to be a misprint in the text.

[3] Deyamati in the printed text is clearly a misprint. The MSS. give Udayamati.

Then king Karṇa, discovering that a great calamity was at hand, married Mayaṇalladevī out of regard for his mother, and afterwards did not honour her even with a look. One day the minister Muñjāla, finding out by means of the chamberlain, that the king was in love with a woman of low rank, dressed up Mayaṇalladevī in her clothes and ornaments, and sent her, after the usual monthly ablution, to secretly take the place of that woman. As the king supposed that she was that very woman, he received her ardently and she became pregnant. Then she, by way of a convincing proof of the interview, took from the king's hand a ring marked with his name and placed it on her own hand.[1] Then, the next morning, the king was prepared to forfeit his life on account of that sinful deed, and asked the doctors of canonical law the proper expiation for it. They informed him that he must embrace a red-hot copper image, but when he was about to comply with their command in order to expiate his sin, the minister told him the real facts of the case. To that son, who was born in an auspicious moment, the king gave the name of Jayasiṁha. He, when a child of three years old, as he was playing with some young princes of the same age, adorned the throne, by sitting down on it. As the astrologers said that that very moment was one likely to bring about prosperity, the king performed then and there the coronation of that son. In 1150 V.S. on the third day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa, on a Saturday, in the *nakṣatra* of Çravaṇa, in the *lagna* of Taurus, the coronation of Siddharāja took place. But Karṇa himself went to attack a Bhilla named Āçā dwelling in Āçāpallī, and an omen of Bhairavadevī[2] having taken place, he built there a temple to the goddess named Kocharaba,[3] and after conquering the Bhilla, who was king over six lakhs, he established there in a temple the goddess Jayantī, and also he made the temple of Karṇeçvara, adorned with the lake of Karṇasāgara.[4] He founded the city of Karṇāvatī and reigned there himself. In Pattana he caused to be built the temple of Karṇameru.[5] This king began to reign in 1120 V.S., on the seventh day of the white fortnight of Caitra, and he reigned till the second day of the black fortnight of Pauṣa in 1150 V.S., a

Jinamaṇḍana, the author of the Kumārapālacarita, tells us that the object of Mayaṇalladevī and her companions was to throw on the king the guilt of their death. I do not see how this meaning can be obtained from Merutuṅga's words.

[1] This story reminds one of Shakespeare's play, All's Well that Ends Well.

[2] Bhairava is omitted in α and β. Probably the reference is to an owl.

[3] According to Forbes this name is still preserved in that of a locality on the bank of the river immediately contiguous to Ahmedabad. Āçāpallī is now Āshāwul. (Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 79.)

[4] In the Rās Mālā, p. 80, we learn that this lake was made by damming up the river Roopeyn. The river broke through the embankment in 1814. The remains of the reservoir are known as the "ten mile tank."

[5] This would appear to mean "the Meru of Karṇa." According to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā LVI, 20, quoted by Bühler in his article, "On the origin of the town of Ajmer and its name," Vienna Oriental Journal, 1897, p. 56, Meru in this connection means "a large temple with six towers, twelve storeys and wonderful vaults."

period of twenty-nine years, eight months and twenty-one days. Then, Karṇa having gone to heaven, Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamati, behaved in an unbecoming way. One day he enticed into his own palace the royal physician named Līlā, who had gained favour by a boon of a deity, and was continually being honoured with gifts of gold by all the citizens, whose minds were astonished at his skill. The disease being a purely fictitious one, Līlā examined his pulse and said that he did not require treatment.[1] Madanapāla said to him, "You have misunderstood the case; the fact is that you were not called in by me to heal a bodily disease, but to cure my covetousness by administering a medicine to that, so hand over thirty-two thousand." Being imprisoned by Madanapāla, he consented to do it. But he took a vow to the following effect, that from henceforth he would visit no house, with the single exception of the king's palace, for the purpose of curing disease, and so from that time forth he treated cases pathologically by examining the urine of patients. One day, a practical joker, wishing to test his skill in dealing with a fictitious complaint, showed him some bull's urine. The physician understood the matter thoroughly and shaking his head, he said, "That bull is broken down in health from over-eating, and you must give him a clyster of oil immediately, otherwise he will die." By this sagacity he produced astonishment in the mind of the practical joker. One day the king asked him for a remedy for a pain in his neck. The physician said, "By anointing with ointment made of two *palas* of musk, pain in the head is allayed." The prescription was followed and the king's neck was cured. Then a man of low caste, who was one of the bearers of the king's litter, asked him for a remedy for headache. He said, "Make an ointment out of the juice of the root of a full-grown[2] *karīra*, together with the earth attaching to it." Then the king said to him, "What is the meaning of this?" The physician answered, "A man, who knows the science of healing, takes into consideration, in treating a patient, place and time, and strength, and the peculiarities of a man's constitution." On another occasion, some rogues conspired together, and formed themselves into separate couples, and the first couple said to him on the road to the market, "Why are you in such feeble bodily health to-day?" The second couple addressed the same question to him on the steps of the temple of Muñjālasvāmin, the third couple at the gate of the palace, the fourth couple under the arch of the doorway, and so over and over again the same question was addressed to him; and owing to the shock

[1] I find in *α* and P, *pathyasajjatāmūce*. As *grīvā sajjībhūtā*, on the same page of the printed text, means "His neck was cured," we should perhaps have to translate this "told him that he might be cured by treatment." But it is improbable that our author would represent Līlā as making a mistake.

[2] P omits *vṛddha*.

to his system, brought about by the fear that these repeated questions produced, he immediately contracted a *māhendra* fever, and on the thirteenth day that physician died. Here ends the story of the physician Līlā.

Then the son of Karṇa, by a device of the minister Sāntū, killed the tyrannical Madanapāla, on pretence of going round on a royal circuit.[1] Then a certain man residing in the country of Marwar, of the Çrīmāla tribe,[2] a merchant, of the name of Uda, was going out at night in the rainy season, to buy a quantity of clarified butter, and seeing a field being flooded by workmen, with water from another field, he said to them, "Who are you?" They said, "We are the well-wishers of So and So." He then asked, "Have I also any well-wishers anywhere?" They answered, "You have some in Karṇāvatī." Thereupon he went there with his family. He was worshipping the gods according to the prescribed custom in the Vāyaṭīya temple of the Jina, when a female dyer,[3] a lay sister of the Jaina persuasion, named Lāchi, expressed her respect for him, on the ground of his being of the same creed as herself. She said to him, "Whose guest are you, honoured Sir?" He answered, "I am a foreigner and your guest." So she took him with her, and had him fed with food which she caused to be cooked in the house of a certain merchant, and lodged him in a certain house on her own land.[4] In course of time he acquired wealth, and being desirous of building an edifice of brick, he proceeded to dig the foundation, but in the process he discovered an enormous treasure. So he sent for that very lady, and wished to make the treasure over to her, but she declined to receive it. In virtue of his having acquired the treasure, he was henceforth known by the name of the minister Udayana. He caused to be built in the city of Karṇāvatī the temple of Udayana,[5] adorned with the images of the twenty-four Jinas of the past, present and future. He had four sons by different wives, Cāhaḍadeva,[6] Ambaḍa, Bohaḍa, and Solāka.

Then, on another occasion, the great minister, named Sāntū, as he was going in the royal circuit, mounted on the back of an elephant, was desirous on his return, of worshipping the god in the Sāntū temple,[7] founded by

[1] According to Forbes, the minister conveyed the young prince to his own house, and caused Madanapāla to be put to death by the hands of his soldiers.

[2] I read with α, β and P, *Çrīmālavaṁçya*. I have translated Marumaṇḍala by Marwar. *Maru* means desert.

[3] I find that in the Pāiyalacchī (ed. Bühler), *chimpao* is said to mean a dyer. But the Gujarātī *chīpo* is said to mean "a cloth-printer, a stamper," and Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out to me that the Hindustani *chīpī* means a cloth-printer.

[4] I find in α and P, *nijatalake*. This I have attempted to translate. In α I find *nijatalake nivāsya*; β has *nijatalpe taṁ nivāsya*.

[5] It appears from P, α and β that "Udana" in the printed text is a misprint.

[6] Here we are directed by the Errata to read Cāhaḍa°. I find this in α, β and P. For Bohaḍa, β and P give Bāhaḍa.

[7] The word *vasahikā* is here used. It means an aggregate of buildings, including a temple and monastery. (Bühler's H.C. p. 57.)

himself, and as he was entering it with that object, he saw a certain Çvetāmbara, who lived in the Jaina temple, with his hand placed on the shoulder of a *hetaera*. Then he descended from the elephant, and covering his face with his outer garment, he saluted him by prostrating himself before him, with five limbs on the ground. Then he waited a moment, and after prostrating himself before him again, he went on his way. Then that Çvetāmbara, with his face cast down from shame, as if desirous of entering Hades, immediately renounced everything, and received ordination at the hands of the holy teacher, Maladhāri-Hemacandra,[1] and filled with a spirit of religious fervour,[2] went to Çatrunjaya, and performed asceticism for twelve years. Moreover, other men, similar to himself, were converted by him. That hermit said to himself,—

O my soul, how dost thou, O my brother, run to and fro like a Piçāca ?
Look on the indivisible Self, and become happy by abandoning passion.
O mind, why dost thou fruitlessly run in the mirages of worldly existence ?
Why dost thou not step down into this ambrosial lake of Brahma ?[3]

Once on a time, that minister went to Çatrunjaya to worship the feet of the god, and prostrated himself before that hermit, as if he had never seen him before,[4] and as his mind was delighted with his devout walk, he asked him about his teacher, his family, and so on. The hermit replied, "You, sir, are in reality my teacher." When the hermit said that, the minister, in his ignorance of the facts, covered his ears with his hands, and said, "Do not say so," but the hermit replied to him,—

He who, whether he be under vows or a householder, establishes another in the pure religion,
Becomes the religious teacher of that man, because he imparts to him religious truth.[5]

In these words he informed the minister of the fundamental facts of the case, and brought about his confirmation in the faith.

Here ends the story of the minister Sāntū's confirmation in the faith.

Then, immediately, Mayaṇalladevī, having told the circumstances of her

[1] A pupil of that Abhayadevasūri who received the title of Maladhārin from Karṇa, king of Gujarāt (Saṁvat 1120-1150). (See Peterson's Fourth Report, pp. vi. and cxl.)

[2] The smaller Petersburg Dictionary explains *saṁvega* as *ein Verlangen nach Erlösung*, with a reference to Hemacandra.

[3] This stanza is not found in P, α, or β. P omits also the sentence preceding it in the text.

[4] P has *upagata adṛṣta ;* α has the *avagraha*.

[5] This couplet is found in Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen, p. 45.

former life to king Siddharāja,[1] which were known to her in consequence of her remembering her previous birth, set out on a pilgrimage, taking with her an offering of gold, fit for Somanātha, worth a lakh and a quarter. When she reached the city of Bāhuloḍa, the *pañcakula* began to torment the pilgrims on account of his not having received the tax due to the king, and the pilgrims were made to return[2] weeping. Thereupon, Mayaṇalladevī, on the mirror of whose heart their sorrow was reflected, herself turned back. Siddharāja met her[3] on the way, and said to her, "Lady, away with this agitation! Why do you turn back?" She answered, "When this tax is altogether remitted, I will prostrate myself before the god Someçvara, and[4] take food, but on no other condition." When the king heard this, he summoned the *pañcakula*, and finding it stated in the numerical statement of the patent that the tax produced seventy-two lakhs, he tore up the patent, and giving up the tax for the spiritual welfare of his mother, he poured into her hand a handful of water.[5] Then she went to Someçvara and solemnly offered before the god that offering of gold, and gave away her own weight in gold and many other gifts.

Even the sea, being intent on accumulation only, has sunk to the lower parts of the earth,
But, observe, the cloud, which is a giver, roars above the heaven.[6]
Army and retinue and all other appurtenances perish,
Fame alone remains, in the case of one who has produced joy by giving.
The giver has no friend like a petitioner, who relieves him of a burden, and, in truth,
Delivers him, without his dying, from an enemy in the form of wealth.

Then Mayaṇalladevī, having her head inflated with pride on account of her notion that no woman equal to her, in respect of great gifts, ever had existed or would exist, slept soundly. That very god Somanātha appeared to her, wearing the guise of an ascetic, and said to her, "Here, in this very temple of mine, is a female pilgrim, who has come on a devotional visit to my shrine; you must ask her to transfer her merit to you." Having given this command, the god disappeared, and the woman was discovered after a

[1] It is clear from what precedes that Mayaṇalladevī married Karṇa in order to put an end to the dues levied at Bāhuloḍa.
[2] P has *nivarttyamāneṣu*. This I adopt. But β has *nivarttamāneṣu*, "the pilgrims were returning."
[3] I find in P, *antarābhūtena*. This I translate. But the text might mean, I suppose, "stopped her on the way." I find in β, *antarāyībhūtena*.
[4] P inserts *ca* after *açanaṁ*.
[5] As an earnest that the engagement was irrevocable. (See Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 84.) Cp. Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Plate LVII., Chalmers's translation of the Jātakas, Vol. I., p. 197, and my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Vol. II., p. 329.
[6] This is No. 6676 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, but *hi* is read for *'pi*. He finds it in the Subhāṣitarṇava.

search by the king's servants, and brought to the queen. The female pilgrim, when she was asked to transfer her merit, refused to do so on any account, and when the queen asked her what she had spent on the pilgrimage, she answered, "I travelled one hundred *yojanas* across a foreign country,[1] begging my way, and yesterday I performed the fast usual on reaching a sacred spot, and on the day of breaking the fast, having obtained an oilcake from some charitable man, I offered a piece of it in worship to the god Someçvara, and gave a fragment to a guest, and with the rest I broke my own fast. Your Highness is one who must have accumulated merit in previous existences, as your father and brother on the one hand, and your husband and son on the other, were, or are kings. When you have brought about the remission of the tax levied on pilgrims at Bāhuloḍa, and have offered to Someçvara an offering of gold worth a lakh and a quarter, how comes it to pass that you are desirous of obtaining my merit? But[2] if you will not be angry, I will say something:—my merit is in reality greater than yours on the earth, for—

In prosperity self-restraint, in power meekness, in youth austerity,
In poverty a gift, though very small, conduces to great gain."

By this appropriate[3] speech she humbled the pride of the queen.

But Siddharāja, being on the shore of the sea, was being praised by a bard with verses, of which the following couplet is a specimen:—

Who knows your mind, O sovereign? You have obtained the position of emperor,
Now the son of Karṇa is looking for a practicable way to obtain the fruits of Laṇkā.[4]

While the king was thus absent[5] from his capital on this pilgrimage Yaçovarman, the king of Mālava, being on the look-out for an opportunity of carrying out a stratagem, began to overrun Gujarāt, and when the minister Sāntū said to him, "On what condition will you turn back?" he said, "I will do so if you will make over to me the merit which your master has gained by his pilgrimage to the shrine of the god Someçvara." When the minister received this answer, he washed the king's feet, and threw into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of

[1] I follow P which gives *yojanaçatāntaṁ deçāntaram atikramya;* a has *yojanaçatāṁ deçāntaram.*

[2] P inserts *paraṁ* before *yadi.*

[3] I find in P, *yuktiyuktena*, which is, probably, correct.

[4] I have followed the explanation given by the editor. All the three MSS. read *lahu* for *lau.* In other respects they differ much.

[5] P gives *yātrāvyāvṛtte* which may mean "returned from his pilgrimage." But it appears from a reading in P, which will be shortly referred to, that Siddharāja was really absent.

that merit, and so he induced the king to turn back. Then Siddharāja[1] was angry when he heard of that occurrence, but the minister said to him, "Your Majesty, your merit, which I have given away, goes, but, on the other hand, by what I have done I have given you his merit, and the merit of other people, who have accumulated great store of good deeds. When an enemy's army is entering one's country, it must be kept out by any artifice." By saying this he propitiated the king. Then the king, enraged on account of that inroad, was desirous of marching against the country of Mālava, so he appointed ministers and craftsmen to superintend the construction of the holy place called Sahasraliṇga,[1] and while this work was being rapidly hurried forward, the king started on his expedition to that country. There a war of twelve years' duration took place, in which the king was victorious, and he took this vow, "I will not eat to-day until I have captured the fort[3] of Dhārā." The ministers and foot-soldiers killed the Paramāra Rajputs by five hundred at a time, but still were unable to fulfil the king's vow by the end of the day; so he had to fulfil it in an equivocal manner by breaking into a Dhārā made of meal.[4] Then the king was desirous of turning back, and he spoke to the minister Muñjāla. But he stationed his confidential emissaries in places where three roads met, in places where four roads met, in squares and temples, and they began to talk on the subject of the capture of the fort of Dhārā. Thereupon a certain native of the city said, "If the hostile force approaches the southern[5] gate-tower, it will be possible to take the fort, but not otherwise." When the emissary heard this man's speech he informed that minister, who secretly communicated that fact to the king. The king, knowing that fact, brought his army to the southern gate-tower of the fort, and reckless of the fact that the fort was hard to enter, a *mahout*, named Sāmala, made a mighty elephant, named Yaçaḥpaṭaha, on which he was mounted,[6] batter the two

[1] But P has *Çrīpattanāgataṁ Çrī-Siddharājaṁ tadvṛttāntāvagamanena kruddhaṁ mantryevamavādīt*, "When Siddharāja returned to Pattana, he was angry on hearing of that occurrence, but the minister said to him." I find in α, *Çrī-Siddharājaḥ Çrī-Pattanamupetya Sāntūṁ* (sic) *Mālavakanṛpayos taṁ vṛttāntaṁ avabudhya kruddhaṁ nṛpaṁ mantrī evaṁ avādīt;* the same reading is found in β, but *avabadhya*.

[2] Probably the tank of this name. Forbes thus describes it:—

"It was one of the circular, or rather multilateral tanks, of which many examples, more or less perfect, are to be seen in Gujarat, and its name (which may be rendered 'the reservoir of the thousand temples of Shiva') was probably derived from numerous shrines of Muhā Dev encircling it." (Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 85.)

[3] Some MSS. insert *durga* after Dhārā. It would appear that the open part of the city was already captured.

[4] A somewhat similar story is told of the Queen of Spain with reference to the siege of Gibraltar.

[5] I have inserted the word *dakṣina* from β; α has *dakṣaṇa*.

[6] But P has *adhirūḍhaḥ*. Anyhow it is clear that the king also was mounted on the elephant.

panels of the *tripolika* [1] with its hind quarters, and break the iron bar. The elephant produced an internal rupture by its great exertion, and so the *mahout* made the son of Karṇa descend from it; but while he was getting down, himself, the elephant fell dead on the earth. Having lost its life by its martial valour, it returned to earth in the form of a Gaṇeça, named Yaçodhavala, in the village of Baḍasara, being white with its own glory.[2]

May the elephant-faced Ganeça bestow on you prosperity, bearing but one tusk,
As if his other tusk had been broken on the full breast of Siddhi,[3] as on the side of a mountain.

In these words is he praised. When Siddharāja had thus accomplished the taking of the fort, and had bound Yaçovarman, who had embarked on the war, with six cords, and had established there his sovereignty, respected by all men, he returned to Pattana, illustrious by having brought Yaçovarman as a visible symbol of glory. Representatives of all the sects were summoned on separate days to utter blessings; and so, when the time came, the Jaina teachers, with Hemacandra at their head, having been invited, presented themselves before Siddharāja, and were conciliated by the king with presents of clothes and other gifts. Though they were all charming by their incomparable readiness of intellect, they put Hemacandra in front of themselves in two senses, and he recited to the king the following blessing :—

O wishing-cow, sprinkle the earth with streams of thy products! O jewel-mines,
Make a *svastika* of pearls! O moon, become a full pitcher!
O elephants of the quarters, take leaves of the wishing-tree, and with your erected trunks
Make temporary arches of foliage! For truly Siddharāja is coming, having conquered the world.[4]

When this plain and sincere stanza was explained, the king's mind was

[1] *Tripolika* would appear to be the same word as the Urdu *tripauliyā* or *tirpauliyā*, which Platts renders "a building with three doors or gates."

[2] Glory is conceived of as white. Yaçodhavala means "white with glory."

[3] According to a note in *a*, Siddhi and Buddhi (Success and Wisdom) are the two wives of Gaṇeça. Probably the myth is to be interpreted allegorically on Bacon's principle.

[4] Forbes remarks (Rās Mālā, p. 87, note), "The allusion is to the usual decoration of houses at times of rejoicing, viz. purifying with cow-dung, painting swasteeks on the walls with vermilion, or forming them with jewels or grains on a table, and hanging garlands at the door." Full vessels are fortunate. The "jewel-mines" are the oceans. Bühler tells us (H.C. p. 13) that these lines are found at the end of the 24th Pāda of Hemacandra's grammar.

astonished at the ingenuity of Hemacandra's speech, and he praised him, but some envious persons said, "These people acquire their literary power by means of reading our treatises." Then the king questioned Hemacandra, and he said, "We read that Jaina grammar which the great Jina, the blessed Mahāvīra, long ago in his childhood, explained to Indra." As soon as he had said this, they rejoined, "Never mind this antiquated story! Mention[1] some writer on grammar not far removed from our own time." After this malignant speech, Hemacandra said, "If king Siddharāja will assist me, I will compile in a few days a new grammar consisting of fully five sections."[2] Then the king said, "This has been undertaken and it must be carried out;" so he dismissed the sage, and he returned to his own place.

Then the king made a promise that he would put an unsheathed knife in the hand of Yaçovarman, and enter the city mounted on an elephant, sitting on the front seat, with Yaçovarman on the back seat. When the minister Muñjāla heard of this promise, he wished to resign his appointment as premier, and when the king earnestly inquired for what reason, he quoted the couplet,—

> Even if kings do not understand peace, and do not comprehend war,
> Yet, if they attend to what is told them, by that alone they are wise.

Thus he instructed the king from a treatise on policy, and showed him that this proceeding, which he had undertaken purely out of his own head, was not at all likely to prove beneficial in the long run. Then the king said, "It is better far that I should lose my life than that I should go back from a promise, which I have once made, and which is generally known." So the minister placed in the hand of Yaçovarman, who was seated on the back seat of the howdah, a knife of wood covered with the white exudation of the Çāl tree, and king Siddharāja sat on the front seat, and entered in great triumph the glorious Aṇahillapura. After the auspicious ceremony of entering the city was completed, the king reminded Hemacandra of the episode of the grammar,[3] and then that teacher brought from many countries all the grammars, together with learned men versed in them, and compiled in a year the grammar called Siddhahema in as many as five sections, consisting of 125,000 *çlokas*.[4] That book was placed by the king's orders on the forehead of the state elephant, and a white umbrella was held over it, and it was fanned with two chowries by female chowrie-bearers, and so it was

[1] P, α, and β omit *nṛpaṁ*.
[2] Bühler (H.C. p. 16) tells us that, besides the Sūtras, there are separate sections on the Uṇādi suffixes, the Gaṇas, the roots and the gender of nouns.
[3] P inserts *karaṇa*, "the question of making a grammar."
[4] Or, more literally, prose equivalents of a *çloka*.

brought to the king's palace, and with great and distinguished honour was deposited in the royal treasury. Then by the king's order all other grammars were discarded, and that grammar was read everywhere. But a certain envious person pointed out to the king that the grammar contained no description of his Majesty's lineage, and thereupon the king was angry. The teacher Hemacandra, hearing of this from a courtier, made thirty-two new *çlokas*, and had them copied out, so as to form a connection with the thirty-two Pādas[1] that had been already composed, and next morning, when the grammar was being read out, he recited also the *çlokas* in praise[2] of the Caulukya race, and so propitiated the king. These were,—

Like Viṣṇu fettering Bali, like Çiva, the wielder of the trident, accompanied by Triçakti,
And like Brahmā *kamalā*-throned, victorious is the king, great Mūlarāja:[3]

and so on. Moreover, Hemacandra composed the book called Ḍvyāçraya, to describe Siddharāja's conquest of various countries in all directions.

Brother Pāṇini, restrain your babbling, fruitless is the patched Kātantra garment,
Çākaṭāyana, do not utter a bitter speech, what profits the mean work of Candra?
Who befools himself with the Kaṇṭhābharaṇa and so on, or with other similar works,
If the phrases of Hemacandra, sweet with meaning, are only heard?[4]

Then Siddharāja showed to king Yaçovarman in Pattana, all the royal temples, beginning with the Tripuruṣaprāsāda, and all the pious works beginning with the Sahasraliṅga tank, and told him that ten millions of money were spent every year on the grant for religious purposes, and asked him if this was creditable or the reverse. He answered, "I was the king of Mālava, a territory of the measure of eighteen lakhs,[5] and how could I have experienced defeat at your hands? But the fact is, Mālavaka

[1] The Siddhahemacandra contains eight Adhyāyas, and thirty-two Pādas, and at the end of each Pāda stands a verse in honour of one of the first seven Caulukya kings, and at the end of the work four verses. (Bühler's H.C. p. 16.)

[2] Here I follow the printed text, which gives *upaçlokakena*. But α and β have °*opaçlokān*. This would mean, additional *çlokas* about the Caulukya race.

[3] This couplet is loaded with puns. Viṣṇu fettered Bali, but Mūlarāja fixed the taxes; Çiva is accompanied by the goddess Triçakti, but Mūlarāja by the three kingly powers arising from his majesty, from his energy, and from charms. Mūlarāja was a dwelling-place of the goddess of good fortune (Kamalā), but Brahmā sits on the lotus (Kamala). (Bühler's H.C. p. 68.)

[4] The Kātantra or Kalāpa grammar is supposed to have been revealed by the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya to Sarvavarman. Çākaṭāyana and Candra were grammarians.

[5] According to Forbes, producing eighteen hundreds of thousands of treasure. I should suppose the word rather to refer to the number of villages.

is the property of the god Mahākāla, having been long ago given to him. We have been the enjoyers[1] of it, and by his power we have risen and set. In the same way, succeeding kings of your line will not be able to keep up the expenditure of so much treasure on the gods, and will retrench all the grant for religious purposes, and will so become the victims of calamity."

Then, once on a time, Siddharāja, being desirous of building the temple of Rudramahākāla in Siddhapura, established a certain architect in his entourage, and when the auspicious moment for commencing the temple arrived, he redeemed his finial,[2] which a creditor had seized for a debt of a lakh. When the king saw that it was made of strips of bamboo, he said, "What is the meaning of this?" Then the architect said, "This was done by me in order to test your Majesty's generosity." Thereupon the king gave him that money, though he was unwilling to receive it. Then, in course of time, the temple, twenty-three cubits in height, was completed, and the king caused to be made figures of distinguished kings, lords of horses, lords of elephants, and lords of men, and so on, and caused to be placed in front of them his own statue, with its hands joined in an attitude of supplication, and so entreated that, even if the country were laid waste, this temple might not be destroyed. On the occasion of setting up the flag on that temple, he had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered, as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākāla is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple. On another occasion, as Siddharāja was about to go to the land of Mālava, a certain merchant begged that he might be allowed to take a share in defraying the expenses of the Sahasraliṅga tank,[3] but that was refused point blank by the king. However, some days after the king had departed, that merchant, hearing that, on account of deficiency of funds, there was some delay in carrying out that work, gave on behalf of his son, whom he represented as having stolen the earring of the daughter-in-law of a rich man, a sum of three lakhs by way of fine. By means of this contribution the work was brought to completion. When the king, who was spending the rainy season in the country of Mālava, heard this news, he was delighted beyond description. Then the cloud of the rainy season made the earth one sea with abundant rain, and a man of the desert-land[4] was sent by the ministers to announce the good news, and he proceeded to detail at length the character of the rains in the presence of the king. But at that very moment a cunning man

[1] The idea seems to be that the kings of Mālava had the usufruct of the country.

[2] I have taken *kalāsikā* as equivalent to *kalaça*, which Dr. Burgess tells me is the urn-shaped finial of a spire. These finials are often made of metal.

[3] The reading in P is simple. *Sahasraliṅga-karmasthāya-vibhāgaṁ yācito rājā tadadattvaiva Mālavakaṁ prati prayāṇam akarot. Tataḥ koçābhāvāt karmasthāyaṁ vilambitaṁ avagamya*, &c.

[4] Probably Marwar.

from Gujarāt came in, and said, "Your Majesty is fortunate; the Sahasraliṅga tank is full." When he had said this, the king gave that man of Gujarāt the ornaments that he wore on every part of his body, while the old man from the desert-land was looking on like a cat fallen from a palanquin. Then the king returned after the rains,[1] and stayed in Çrīnagara, a great city; and when he saw flags flying on the temples of the town, he asked the Brahmans, "What are these temples?" When they told him that the temples were dedicated to the Jina and Brahmā and other deities, the king was enraged, and said, "I have forbidden the erection of flags on the Jaina temples in the country of Gujarāt; so why is a temple of the Jina allowed to hoist a flag in this city of yours?" When he said this, he was thus informed by those men who were thoroughly acquainted with the matter.[2] "Listen! When the auspicious Mahādeva, at the beginning of the Kṛta Yuga, was establishing this great city, he himself built temples to the Lord Ṛṣabha and to Brahmā,[3] and bestowed on them flags. Then these temples were from time to time restored by pious people, and in this way four *yugas* passed. Moreover, this town is part of the outskirts of the great mountain Çatruñjaya, for it is said in the Nagarapurāṇa,—

They say that this is here the measure of the mountain of the lord of Jinas,
In the first place fifty *yojanas* of land at its roots,
Ten *yojanas* of upland is its breadth,
But its height is eight *yojanas*.

Thus in the Kṛta Yuga there was the primeval deity Ṛṣabha; his son was Bharata; this Bharatakhaṇḍa is called after his name.

That Vṛṣabha is the son of Nābhi and Marudevī,
Who, regarding all things with impartial gaze, walked the hermit's self-mortifying walk,
And the hermits record his rank as worthy and true,[4]
He was pure, of restrained senses, impartial and wise.[5]

[1] I read *varṣānantaraṁ* with α, β and P.
[2] I insert *vijñair* after *tair* with α and β.
[3] I read with P, α and β, *sthāpayatā ÇrīṚṣabhanāthaçrīBrahmaprāsādau svayaṁ sthāpitau pradatta-dhvajau tadanayoḥ prāsādayoḥ*, &c. Apparently, some words have been omitted by the printers.
[4] P gives °*ārhantadyaṁ* for the °*ārhasatyaṁ* of the text. Hofrath Bühler has suggested to me that °*ārhatādyaṁ* might be the right reading. This would mean, "record his rank as that of the founder of the Jaina sect." I find in α, *tasaṁrhatyaṁ*; β agrees with the printed text.
[5] The Bombay editor points out that these lines are found with slight variations in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. I find in Burnouf's edition, II. 7, 10:—
*Nābherasāvṛṣabha āsa Sudevisūnur,*
*Yo vai cacāra samadṛg jaḍayogacaryāṁ,*
*Yat pārahaṁsyamṛṣayaḥ padamāmananti,*
*Svasthaḥ praçāntakaranaḥ parimuktasaygaḥ.*

But the eighth was born to Nābhi by Marudevī, a man of wide sway,
Showing the path of the self-restrained, which is honoured by every stage
of life.

After they had quoted these and similar sayings of the Purāṇas, the Brahmans, by way of special confirmation of these assertions, brought a cymbal out of the treasury in the temple of Vṛṣabhadeva, marked with the name of king Bharata, requiring five men to carry it, and showing it to the king established the primeval character of the Jaina religion. Then the king's mind was full of regret, and at the end of the year he gave orders to have the flags hoisted on the Jaina temples. Then the king arrived in Pattana. On a certain occasion, when the accounts of the construction of the tank were being read out,[1] the king, hearing that three lakhs had been deducted from the cost of the work under the head of the fine of the merchant's criminal son, sent three lakhs to the merchant's house. Then that merchant came to the king with a present in his hand, and said humbly, "What is the meaning of this?" The king answered him, "How could a merchant, who has hoisted the ten-million banner,[2] be a thief of earrings? When you asked for a share in the merit of that religious construction, and did not obtain it, then being versed in wiles, a tiger with the face of a deer, outwardly simple, but inwardly perfidious, you took this step. For—

The friend who behind one's back tries to impede one's business, but in
one's presence speaks kindly,
Such a friend one should avoid, a bowl of poison with milk on the surface.[3]
His face is like the petal of a lotus, his speeches are cool as sandal-wood,
His heart is a very knife, this is the mark of a rogue.[4]
Within whom the corpse-lights of the cemetery being reflected,
Shine in the night, having the beauty of the crest-jewels of the snakes of
Hades." [5]

With speeches of this kind he soundly trounced him. One day, Siddharāja asked Rāmacandra, "How comes it that the days are longer in the hot weather?" He replied,—

O king, conqueror of mountain fortresses, in the triumph of thy victorious
progress through the world,
The circle of the earth is pulverized with hoofs by means of the prancings of
galloping heroes' horses,

[1] P gives *sarovaravyayapaṭṭe vācyamāne.*
[2] Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 189.
[3] No. 3979 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. It seems to be ascribed to Cāṇakya.
[4] No. 4882 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. This also is ascribed to Cāṇakya.
[5] This is found in the Kīrtikaumudī of Someçvara (ed. Kāthavaṭe). There it is descriptive of the tank at Aṇahillapattana, no doubt the Sahasraliṅga tank. But Someçvara probably uses *Giriçāgāra* in the sense of temples of Çiva. (See K. K. I. 74.)

And by means of the dust thereof uplifted by the wind, with which is mingled the river of the gods,
Swamps arise, and the horses of the sun are for ever kissing the bent-grass that grows on them, hence the day is long.
The seekers[1] that hit the mark in thy enemies, miss their mark in thee,
Nevertheless, thy fame as a giver, O king Siddha, still uplifts its neck.

Then, one day, the crazy teacher, the Jaina doctor Jayamaṅgala, being asked by the king to describe the city, said,—

Vanquished by the cleverness of the wives of the citizens of this very city,
Sarasvatī indeed, I ween, out of dulness remains carrying water,
Having dropped from her arm her own tortoise-shaped lute to be the gourd-like lake of great king Siddha,
Splendid with a lofty handle in the form of a triumphal pillar, furnished with strings by means of *balā*-plants.[2]

Moreover,

A great temple, a great pilgrimage, a great city, a great reservoir,
Who on the earth could make these which king Siddha has made?

Then the poet Çrīpāla engraved verses on a laudatory plate of metal which had been prepared for the Sahasraliṅga tank. A stanza on it ran as follows[3] :—

My mind does not delight in the Mānasa lake,
Pampā does not produce joy in me,
Here pure water, pure as that of the Acchodaka lake,
Shines as its very essence proclaiming the success of the king.

Representatives of all sects were summoned to revise the panegyric, and the teacher Hemacandra sent there his subordinate disciple the paṇḍit Rāmacandra, and said to him, " When a stanza of the panegyric is approved by all the learned men present, you must not exhibit any cleverness."

[1] The word *mārgaṇa* (seeker) means "petitioner" and "arrow."

[2] I read *balā-tantrīkāṁ* for *balāt-tantrīkāṁ*. I owe this emendation to Hofrath Bühler. The Sarasvatī is, of course, "the small but translucent river Suruswutee," which, according to Forbes, "runs westward towards the Runn of Kutch from the celebrated shrine of Kotheshwur Muhā Dev, in the marble hills of Arasoor" (Rās Mālā, p. 47). The "triumphal pillar" is mentioned in the Kīrtikaumudī, II. 75.

[3] This stanza is omitted in P. P gives *praçastau* for *praçasti* in line 1, omits lines 2–6, and *praçasti* in line 7. The stanza itself is found in the Kīrtikaumudī, I. 78. The third and fourth lines are—

*Acchodam acchodakam apyasāraṁ*
*Sarovare rājati Siddhabhartuḥ.*

The Acchodaka lake, though containing pure water, is valueless while the lake of king Siddha gleams. In the first line *medyati* is read for *mādyati*. It appears that our author has again quoted from memory, unless the stanza has been foisted into the text by a copyist.

Then all the learned men began to examine the panegyric, and all the stanzas were considered with a view to please the king, and to show complaisance to the skill [1] of Çrīpāla, and the following stanza was singled out for special laudation :—

To whose sword the goddess of Fortune resorted, deserting the lotus, thinking thus,
Though furnished with a sheath and abundantly supplied with leaves, this lotus is not able to extirpate,
And it does not possess masculine nature, for it is clear that it tolerates thorns in its domain ;
But this sword, unaided, makes, being unsheathed, the earth free from thorns.[2]

While this stanza was being so specially praised, Siddharāja asked Rāmacandra what he thought of it, and he said, "It is questionable." Then, being attacked by them all, he continued, "In this stanza the word *dala* is used to denote an army, and it is assumed that the word *kamala* is always neuter; these two blemishes are questionable." Then the king appealed to all the learned men, and got them to approve the use of the word *dala* in the sense of royal army, but they said, "As the doctrine that the word *kamala* is always neuter is not supported [3] by the Liṅgānuçāsana, by what can it be decided !" So they had one syllable changed, writing *puṁstvaṁ ca dhatte na vā* (it possesses or does not possess masculine nature). Then, as paṇḍit Rāmacandra was entering his house, one of his eyes burst, because he had brought home an oversight to king Siddharāja.

Then the king of the country of Ḍāhala wrote at the end of a letter of alliance, the following couplet :—

Joined with *ā* it gives life in the world, joined with *vi* it is dear to hermits,
Joined with *saṁ* [4] it is altogether undesirable, alone it is cherished by women.

When the time came to explain this couplet, the learned were silent, but when the king asked Hemacandra, he explained it by supplying the word *hāra*. On another occasion the king of the country of a lakh and a quarter,[5] sent the following half *dodhaka* to be filled up :—

[1] P has *dākṣyādākṣiṇyācca ;* β, *dākṣyadākṣiṇyācca.*
[2] In this punning stanza, *koça* means "sheath" and "calyx"; *dala*, "leaf" and "army"; thorns are used to denote the enemies that a king is bound to extirpate.
[3] I read with α and β, *liṅgānuçāsanāsiddhaṁ*, as the sense seems to require it.
[4] P reads here *pra°*, which gives a good sense.
[5] *Sapādalakṣakṣiti*, the country of Çākambharī-Sāmbhar, in eastern Rajputana. (Bühler, H.C. p. 31.) These lines bear a slight resemblance to two lines found on page 115 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

The new moon of the first night does not imitate the lotus of Gaurī's face.

When those poets were unable to complete it, the great hermit Hemacandra completed it as follows :—

But though unseen, the remaining portion of the moon's disk is always inferred.

On another occasion, Siddharāja, being desirous of executing the king of Abhīras, named Navaghana, his army [1] having been before, eleven times defeated by that chieftain, who had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna and other cities, himself marched in person against him. Navaghana's sister's son had made an agreement that Navaghana, when the rampart was overturned,[2] was to be killed with *dravya*, not with weapons and things of that kind. Accordingly, the attendants made this stipulation with regard to him, but he was dragged out of the large hall and beaten to death with boxes full of *dravya*. And the attendants [3] were informed that he was actually killed with *dravya*, this word being used.

These are the words of his queen, when she had fallen into affliction on account of his death :—

My friends, that king is no longer, and his family is no longer a family ;
I myself will sacrifice my life in the fire with Khaŋgāra.
All kings are merchants, Jesala [4] is a great trader ;
How is the merchants' profession adorned ? Our fort is down.
How didst thou, O venerable Girnār, come to bear envy in thy mind ?
When Khaŋgāra was slain, thou didst not throw down one peak.
O Jesala, do not shed tears again and again. It is considered unbecoming,
As in a river a new flood does not come without a new cloud.[5]

[1] I read *nijasainye* with P, α and β. The reading *nijasainyaiḥ* would mean that Navaghana had been defeated by the troops of Siddharāja. But Forbes takes the view that Siddharāja's army "laid siege to Wurddhumān, now Wudwān, and other towns, but sustained many repulses." The same writer tells us that in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi there is a confusion between the names of Nowghun and Khengār, who were father and son. This explains one of the Prākrit lines that follow. The reading of β, *prākāraprakāraṁ nirūpya* seems to deserve attention.

[2] On page 241 the words *prākāraparāvartaṁ cakāra* are found. They apparently mean overturned the rampart or wall of the city.

[3] According to P the attendants of the sister's son were so informed. It would appear that the sister's son wished to have him poisoned. Perhaps the boxes were full of money. The passage runs thus in P : *tadbhāgineyena vapraparāvarttakāle 'yaṁ dravyavyāpādita eva karanīyo Navaghanaḥ, na punarastrādibhir iti yācite rājñā Jayasiṁhadevena sa çālād bahir ākriṣya dravyavāṣanair eva tāḍayitvā vyāpāditaḥ ayaṁ dravyavyāpādita eva kṛtaḥ iti vacanabalāt tadbhāgineyaparigraho bodhitaḥ.* This is simpler than the printed text.

[4] It appears from Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 136, that Jesala means Jayasiṁha or Siddharāja.

[5] Navaghana means "new cloud."

Having prospered by him, Vardhamāna will not forget, though urged to forget;
Bhogāvartta, I will cause my life, dear as gold, to be enjoyed by thee.

These and many similar utterances must be considered as appropriate to the occasion.

Then Siddharāja appointed the police magister Sajjana, of the race of the great minister Jamba,[1] to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra, on account of his fitness for the post. He, without informing the king, devoted the proceeds of the taxes for three years, to building on the holy mountain Ujjayanta a new stone temple to Neminātha in place of the wooden one which he took away. In the fourth year the king sent four military officers, and summoned to Pattana the police magistrate[2] Sajjana, and asked him for the money collected in three years. He offered the king money equal in amount to the proceeds of three years' taxes, which he had obtained from the merchants of that country, and said, "Let your Majesty take one of these two, either the merit of restoring the dilapidations of the temples of Ujjayanta or the money collected in taxes." When he said this, Siddharāja was astonished at the cleverness of his intellect, and chose the merit of restoring the buildings of that holy place.

But Sajjana again obtained the government of that country, and he presented silken banners to the temples in the two holy places Çatruñjaya and Ujjayanta, each of which extended over twelve *yojanas*.[3]

Here ends the story of the restoration of Raivataka.

Then king Siddha, having again returned from his pilgrimage to Someçvara, encamped at the foot of Raivata, and being desirous of seeing on that occasion the temple[4] that he had built there, was dissuaded by means of false representations by the Brahmans, who were filled with excessive envy, and said, "This mountain is in shape like a *liṅga* with the water-basin surrounding it, and therefore ought not to be touched with the foot." So he sent an offering there, and himself pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the famous holy place Çatruñjaya. There these same men, who were treacherous, like all their caste, and merciless, barred his way to the holy place, sword in hand. So king Siddha, at nightfall, assumed the dress of a pilgrim, and put a yoke on his shoulder, at the two ends of which he suspended vessels full of Ganges water, and mingled with them, and so

[1] The merchant who became prime minister to Vanarāja.
[2] P reads *daṇḍādhīpatiḥ*, which seems to be correct.
[3] But P, with α and β, gives *dvādaçayojanāyāmam*.
[4] *Kīrttana* here means monument, *Denkmal* (B and R in their shorter Dictionary). I read with α, *tadaiva svaṁ kīrttanaṁ*. For this meaning of *kīrttana*, Hofrath Bühler refers me to Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. p. 212, note 6.

ascended the hill without being recognized, and bathed Ṛṣabha, the first lord of a *yuga*, in Ganges water, and bestowed on the image[1] of the great god a grant of twelve villages in the neighbourhood of the hill. And after he had seen the holy place he was, so to speak, like one who had had his eyes opened, like one bathed in nectar. He made a vow, being one who fulfilled his vows, that he would make a Vindhya forest in that very place, on that mountain, which was filled with gum olibanum and with the copious overflow of streams, and as his mind was then troubled as to how he should provide a herd of elephants, he suddenly exclaimed, "Out on me for committing even in thought the crime of outraging this sanctuary!" So he acknowledged his error before the feet of Çrīdeva in presence of the courtiers. He came down from the hill in great delight. Now we will relate the achievement of Çrīdeva,[2] the Jaina doctor.

At this time a Digambara, named Kumudacandra, who in those regions had conquered his opponents in eighty-four logical disputations, came from the country of Karṇāṭa,[3] eager to conquer Gujarāt,[4] and arrived in Karṇāvatī.[5] The reverend doctor Çrīdeva was staying there during the four months of the rains in the temple of Ariṣṭanemi, and the paṇḍits of that foundation, having been ear-witnesses of his remarkable literary ability on the occasion of an exposition of the scriptures, published the fact; so Kumudacandra threw grass and water into Çrīdeva's lodging.[6] Then that famous learned hermit, well skilled in the proofs of dialectic, logic, and so on, paid no attention to that proceeding because he had never heard of it before. So Kumudacandra surrounded with servants the sister[7] of the teacher Çrīdeva, a female ascetic, and by their instrumentality insulted her with various insults, such as dancing, bringing water, and so on; and when they were removed, Kumudacandra resorted to violent abuse on account of the insult, but the doctor Çrīdeva stopped him, and said to him, "You must go to Pattana if you wish to take part in the scientific game of philosophical discussion. There I will hold a disputation with you before the king's court." When the doctor Çrīdeva said this, the Digambara, think-

[1] Here P and α give simply *Çrīdevāya*.

[2] Çrīdeva is sometimes called Çrīdevasūri and sometimes Çrīdevācārya. I have rendered the first by "the doctor Çrīdeva." Here Çrīdeva might possibly refer to he god as in the second line of this page of the printed text. It is curious that elve villages are bestowed on the teacher Çrīdeva on page 170.

[3] The Carnatic.

[4] But P gives *yātukāmaḥ*, eager to go from the Carnatic to Gujarāt.

[5] According to Forbes, the modern Ahmadabad (Bühler, H.C. 9).

[6] *Upāçraya*. I take it that this was attached to the temple. The custom of hrowing grass and water by way of challenge is again found on page 279 of the rinted text. It therefore seems probable that Çrīdeva was acquainted with it. But P gives *anākarṇitakayā*, which perhaps means "pretending not to have heard f it." The passage is wanting in α and β.

[7] I find in P, *devācāryāṁ jāmiṁ*. The letter *r* is not quite clear. I have followed he text.

ing that he had gained his end, arrived in the neighbourhood of Pattana. Siddharāja honoured him by going to meet him and other attentions, on account of his being the spiritual preceptor of his maternal grandfather; so he took up his quarters there. Then Siddharāja questioned Hemacandra about the skill in disputation of the various paṇḍits of his realm, and Hemacandra said that the teacher Çrīdeva, at that time in Karṇāvatī, a man possessed of great skill in the four branches of knowledge,[1] the leader of the elephant-herd of Jaina hermits, the adamantine rampart of the Çvetāmbara faith, the charming necklace of the king's court, was expert in the science of disputation, and a very lion to controversial elephants. Then the king sent a royal rescript to summon him, and it arrived at the same time as a letter from the congregation. So the doctor Çrīdeva reached Pattana, and at the king's request he proceeded to propitiate the goddess of speech. But she said to him, "If you put forward as a net, an introduction of the eighty-four ensnaring dilemmas in the section dealing with the controversy with the Digambaras of the great commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, composed by Çāntisūri,[2] terrible to disputants as a vampire, you will close the mouth[3] of the Digambara." After he had received this command, he secretly sent paṇḍits to Kumudacandra, and so took steps to inquire in what department of learning he was especially skilled. They brought back this,—

King, give command, what am I to do? Am I immediately to bring
Laṅkā here?
Shall I carry off Jambūdvīpa hence, or dry up the receptacle of waters?
Or am I to make a dam across the sea, increasing its volume by the swell
produced by throwing into it
The mountain of the three-eyed god,[4] and by way of pebbles the heads of
lofty hills rooted up with ease?

When the teacher Çrīdeva and Hemacandra heard this saying of his, they saw that his knowledge of authoritative text-books was very small, and they rejoiced, considering that he was as good as vanquished. Then the head pupil of the reverend doctor Çrīdeva, named Ratnaprabha, went at nightfall, disguised, to Kumudacandra's pavilion. Then Kumudacand[ra]

[1] Perhaps *trayī*, the triple Veda; *ānvīkṣikī*, logic and metaphysics; *daṇḍanīti*, [the] science of government; and *vārtā*, practical arts.

[2] According to Professor Leumann, the passage referred to is found in Çān[ti]sūri's commentary on Uttarādhyayana, III. 9. (See Weber's Indische Studie[n], Vol. XVII., 97, 17 f.) The corresponding passage in Devendra's Uttarādhyaya[na] commentary has been published and translated by Jacobi in the Journal of t[he] German Oriental Society, Vol. XXXVIII. pp. 2–7.

[3] The reading of P, *mudrā patiṣyatīti*, seems preferable to that of the printed te[xt].

[4] i.e. Himālaya.

said, "Who are you?" The answer was, "I am a god." "What is meant by god?" "I." "Who am I?" "You." "What is meant by 'You'?" "A dog." "Who is a dog?" "You." "Who am I?" "I am a god."

So their game of question and answer revolved in a circle, and Ratnaprabha came back again, having made himself out to be a god and the Digambara to be a dog. When the mistake of the "vicious circle" was thus made manifest, Kumudacandra felt himself touched by the outcast[1] of despondency, and he had the following stanza composed:—

O white-robed ones, why, with phrases composed of great swelling words of vanity,
Do you fling these foolish people into the gaping gulf of the pit of this transmigrating world?
If you have indeed the slightest longing for discrimination between truth and untruth,
Meditate day and night on the two truthful feet of Kumudacandra.

Having had this stanza, which was eminently characteristic of him, composed, he adopted it[2] and sent it to the doctor Çrīdeva. Thereupon that ruby of paṇḍits, the most subtle quintessence[3] of his sect, surpassing Cāṇakya in power of intellect, indited the following stanza:—

Who touches with his foot the dense mane of hair on the neck of the lion?
Who desires to be scratched with a sharp spear in the hollow of the eye?
Who prepares for battle with him who is adorned with the crest-jewel of the king of snakes as with an earring?
Why he who brings this charge against the revered creed of the Çvetāmbaras.

Then the paṇḍit Ratnākara wrote:—

This truth is clear that the naked ones
Refuse here release to young women;
Then why have you this foolish longing, coming of evil,
This longing for the rough game of logic?

se stanzas the doctor Çrīdeva sent to Kumudacandra by way of ry.

ṣāda, a member of a wild tribe outside the Aryan pale. These people were imes employed as executioners. P omits *niṣāda*.
ut P gives *nirmāya samaye*, he composed and sent it in due time.
and β give *paramaparamāṇur°*.

Now the august Mayaṇalladevī was favouring Kumudacandra, and always bringing pressure to bear on those members of the court with whom she came in contact, in order to ensure his triumph. But Hemacandra, hearing of this, let her know that in the controversial disputation the Digambaras would deny the validity of good deeds performed by women, whereas the Çvetāmbaras would uphold it. When this fact was intimated to her by Hemacandra, through the instrumentality of those very members of the court, the queen-mother ceased to favour the Digambara, as a man utterly unacquainted with the usages of society.

Then Kumudacandra, seated in a litter, and the paṇḍit Ratnaprabha on foot, came into the Record Office,[1] to write down the thesis and the counterstatement. Kumudacandra had his thesis taken down by the officials of the Record Office in the following words :—

A man, that [2] has attained unlimited knowledge, does not eat, there is no salvation for any one that wears clothes,

One born as a woman does not attain perfection ; this is the opinion of Kumudacandra.

Now follows the counterstatement of the Çvetāmbaras :—

Even after attaining unlimited knowledge a man eats, one that wears clothes can attain salvation,

Though one be a woman, one may attain perfection ; this is the opinion of the doctor Çrīdeva.

After the thesis and the counterstatement had been written down in these words, and Siddharāja had come to the meeting on the day fixed for the disputation, and the members of the court, men versed in the means of proof acknowledged by the six schools of philosophy,[3] had assembled, the disputant Kumudacandra entered the court of the king Siddharāja, seated in a litter, with drums of triumph beating in front of him, having a white umbrella held over him, and a support for papers dangling in front of him at the end of a bamboo, and took his seat on a throne graciously put at his disposal by the sovereign. The reverend doctor Çrīdeva, also, and the great hermit Hemacandra who accompa[nied] him, adorned one throne between them in the court. Then the dis[putant]

[1] *Akṣapaṭala* is said by Cowell and Thomas in their translation of the Çrī [Harṣa] Carita (p. 278) to mean document, and *ākṣapaṭalika*, "one in charge of docum[ents]." They refer to C.I.I., III. p. 180, line 76, and p. 190, n. 2. Sir Monier M[onier-]Williams gives "depository of legal documents" (as Mr. Fleet points out) [as the] meaning of *akṣapaṭala*.

[2] P gives *kevalihūu* ; β, *kevalihūo*.

[3] Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Uttaramīmāṁsā or Vedānta, Nyāya, Vaiçeṣika, Sāṅk[hya,] Yoga.

Kumudacandra, being himself advanced in years, said to Hemacandra, who was somewhat above the age of boyhood, "You have drunk buttermilk." But Hemacandra put him down by replying, "You drivelling old dotard, why do you talk in this absurd way? Buttermilk is white: turmeric is yellow."[1] Then Kumudacandra said, "Which of you two is the disputant?" The doctor Çrīdeva, in order to give him a rebuff, said, "This gentleman is your opponent in the disputation." Then Kumudacandra said, "How can I, an old man, dispute with this child?" Hemacandra, overhearing his remark, said, "I am your senior; you are a mere child, since you have not, as yet, been promoted to a loin-string and a garment." The king then put a stop to this wrangling between the two, and they made this mutual agreement that, if the Çvetāmbaras were vanquished, they should adopt the views and practices of the Digambaras, but if the Digambaras were beaten, they should leave the country. After this stipulation had been made, the teacher Çrīdeva, who was afraid that his country might be disgraced, and who wished to cut away every ground for imputation,[2] being alive to the possibility of imputations being cast on his country, said to Kumudacandra, "Please consent, sir, to bring forward your thesis first." Then Kumudacandra bestowed the following blessing on the king:—

'The sun sheds in it the light of a firefly, the moon repairs to the shade
Of an old spider's hole, and the mountains are in it but gnats,'
While describing the heaven in these words, thy glory came to my recollection,
That buzzes in it like a humble-bee, henceforth my words are sealed up.

When the members of the court heard this barbarous phrase, "Henceforth my words are sealed up," they rejoiced, thinking that by it he had tied his own hands. Then the teacher Çrīdeva gave the king this blessing:—

Long may thy reign prosper, O Caulukya, and that Jaina religion of thine,
In the former of which the winding groove of development of the path of thy policy,
Charming from the growth of its white-robed glittering glory, gives no room for joy to thy enemies,
And all mighty men and elephants have always their exceeding haughtiness subdued;
In the second of which the seven modes of assertion developed in a logical way,

[1] This quibble depends upon the two meanings of *pīta*, "drunk" and "yellow."

[2] Or perhaps it means, "being anxious to avoid all repetition." He did not wish his adversary to reply. I find in β, *daçānuvāda-parāyanaḥ*.

Charming from the growth of the glittering glory of the Çvetāmbaras, establishes for women possibility of salvation,
And Kevalins, conquering the haughtiness of their enemies, are always allowed to eat![1]

Then the disputant Kumudacandra began to introduce his thesis directed against the eating of Kevalins, the salvation of women, and the wearing of clothes, with a faltering voice resembling that of the bird called a pigeon, being honoured by the members of the court, who praised him openly, while laughing at him in their hearts. After he had ended a sort of introduction, they said to the teacher Çrīdeva, "Speak!" Then he began to set forth eighty-four ensnaring dilemmas of the great commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, in words resembling the piled-up waves of the sea agitated by the fierce winds developed at the time of the destruction of the world, and the lotus of Kumudacandra's countenance began to wither, as his adversary's splendid readiness of intellect developed itself, and his mind being confused with bewilderment, he was not able to grasp thoroughly the words spoken by Çrīdeva; so he requested that that introduction might be repeated, though the members of Siddharāja's court were disposed to forbid it. Then the doctor Çrīdeva began to whelm[2] Kumudacandra in a sea of argument with waves of countless topics, but on the beginning of the sixteenth day he was attacked by a sudden choking in the throat. Then Yaçobhadrasūri, who was skilled in charms, and had obtained a boon through the unexampled favour of the goddess Kurukullā, removed in a moment from the surface of the doctor Çrīdeva's throat a ball of hair, that had been produced there by the power of the incantations performed by the naked mendicant. When the dexterous Yaçobhadrasūri beheld that strange sight, he praised the doctor Çrīdeva,[3] who was highly elated, and denounced with great severity Kumudacandra, who was proportionately depressed. Now it happened that the doctor Çrīdeva, when beginning to set forth his thesis, used the expression *koṭākoṭi*. Kumudacandra asked for the origin of that phrase. Thereupon the learned Kākala, who had the eight grammars at his fingers' ends,[4] said that the justification of the three words, *koṭākoṭi*, *koṭīkoṭi* and

[1] I have had to use seven lines to translate four, as a double meaning runs through the first three. The subject of the Saptabhaṇgīnaya, or seven modes of assertion, is clearly explained by Bhandarkar in his report on Sanskrit MSS. for the year 1883-84, pp. 95, 96. See also Appendix C to Kāthavaṭe's edition of the Kīrtikaumudī.

[2] P gives *majjayitum*, omitting *prārabdhe*; β, *majjayitu*, omitting *prārabdhe*. Perhaps *majjayituḥ* is meant.

[3] The word Çrīdeva is not found in the original. P gives *Çrīyaçobhadrasūriç-çlāghyamānaḥ*. This would mean "Yaçobhadra, being praised by the discerning, was elated, &c." This reading gives a good sense.

[4] Literally, "rolled the eight grammars on the surface of his throat." Kākala

*koṭikoṭi*, was established, being set forth in Çākaṭāyana's grammar, as based upon the Sūtra "*ṭāpa ṭīpa.*" But then it was clear that Kumudacandra's mouth was shut by virtue of his own barbarous expression, "henceforth my words are sealed up," which he uttered at the commencement of the contest, and he himself exclaimed, "I am vanquished by the teacher Çrīdeva." Then king Siddha, in accordance with the custom usual in the case of defeated disputants, expelled Kumudacandra by the door of ill-omen,[1] and shocked at the publicity of the disgrace that was befalling him, he burst an imposthume and died.

Immediately Siddharāja's mind was full of joy, and he himself, being desirous of proclaiming the might of the teacher Çrīdeva, lent him his hand to lean on, and so went along with four white umbrellas carried over his head, fanned by a multitude of chowries, and as he went, the twin conchs were blown, and the sky, filled with the sound of glorious crashing drums, seemed by its various noises to be rumbling its bellyful,[2] and a lay disciple, named Thāhaḍa, satisfied a crowd of beggars by distributing money to the amount of three lakhs, and the auspicious cry was frequently uttered, "Let the prince of disputants advance his foot," which produced the sprouting of an abundant crop of roots of joy in the form of multitudes of praises. In this way the king escorted the teacher Çrīdeva to his house, after he had performed his adorations to the blessed Mahāvīra in a temple built by that very Thāhaḍa, and he gave the learned doctor, by way of reward, twelve villages and a shawl and other presents, though he was very unwilling to receive them. The verses written in his praise are as follows:—

Honour to great Devasūri, the teacher who upheld the cause of clothes,
Whose favour his appearance seems to indicate, when questions are asked about his welfare!

This was the composition of Pradyumnācārya.

If truly the snowbright[3] Devasūri had not conquered Kumudacandra,
Not a single Çvetāmbara in the world would have worn a covering on his loins.

This was the composition of Hemācārya.

is a Prakrit form, and a diminutive of Karka. He is a historical character. One of his pupils wrote a commentary on Hemacandra's grammar.

[1] I have borrowed this from Forbes, who quotes from Jeremy Taylor, "Plutarch rarely well compares curious and inquisitive ears to the execrable gates of cities, out of which only malefactors and hangmen and tragedies pass, nothing that is chaste or holy." This may be illustrated from Jātaka 194, (p. 86 of Rouse's translation), "They scourged him with whips, and tormented him at every street corner, and cast him out of the city by the south gates." The south is the quarter of Yama.

[2] This phrase is borrowed from King Lear III. 2, 14. A more literal translation would be—"The atmosphere filled, &c., seemed to wear the appearance of that which fills the belly of the heaven."

[3] I read *Devasūrir himaruciḥ*.

The naked one broke his vow by acquiring a rag of glory,
But Devasūri stripped it off, and made him once more a naked devotee.[1]

This was the composition of Udayaprabhadeva.

How can the lord Devasūri, skilled in the science of logic, be compared to the preceptor of the gods,
Since even now the latter has not left the writing-school?[2]

This was the composition of Munidevācārya.

Let Devasūri be for your joy, on account of the warmth of whose bright intellect, the naked one,
Abandoning the ascetic-cloth of glory, was abandoned, as if out of shame, by the goddess of speech!

That lord Devasūri, who, by conquering the naked one, made himself the pillar-teacher of the Çvetāmbara faith,
Establishing an almshouse for all Kevalins and their right of eating,
And who also by his logical answers[3] was a ford of salvation to women,
He, I say, possesses more immeasurable greatness than the god Bṛhaspati.

These two last compositions are the work of the doctor Merutuṅga. Here ends the story of Devasūri.

Then a merchant's son, named Ābhaḍa, living in Pattana, whose family had become extinct, and who rubbed bells in the pewterers' bazar, and earning there five *viçopakas*, managed to meet his day's expenditure, was in the habit of renouncing his sins every morning and evening at the feet of Hemasūri. Being naturally clever, he had read such books as the Agastyamata, and the Ratnaparīkṣā of Buddhabhaṭṭa,[4] and from living in the company of jewel-testers, he had become expert in the discrimination of gems.[5] One day he came to Hemacandra, and was preparing in his presence to take very strict vows about limiting himself in regard to the amount of property he was to possess,[6] as he had no wealth, when the lord, who understood the science of chiromancy, reflecting that in the future the prosperity of his fortune would increase, made him limit his property to three lakhs of *drammas*, and Ābhaḍa gladly consented in his presence[7] to

[1] I read *nirgranthaṁ*.
[2] Bṛhaspati is the preceptor of the gods. *Lekhaçālā* means writing-school, and hall of gods. The Lekhās are a class of gods.
[3] P gives *tanmuktiyuktottaraiḥ*, by answers involving the salvation of women. This seems preferable to the reading in the text.
[4] M. Finot in his Lapidaires Indiens has edited the Buddhabhaṭṭa-ratnaparīkṣā, the Agastimata and the Agastīyā Ratnaparīkṣā. He proposes to read here *adhītāgastya-bauddha-mataratnaparīkṣādigrantho*. This I translate.
[5] P reads °*sānnidhyāttatparīksādakṣaḥ*.
[6] So the householder limits himself in the Uvāsaga Dasāo; see Hoernle's translation, section 17 and ff.
[7] P omits *saha*.

these conditions, and observed them. On a certain occasion he was desirous of going to a certain village, and on the way he saw a herd of she-goats going along, and in a piece of stone that was upon the neck of one of the she-goats, he detected, thanks to his discernment of gems, the nature of a jewel.[1] So, in his desire to obtain it, he bought the she-goat for a sum of money, and he had the jewel polished by a jeweller, and, on the occasion of a diadem being made for Siddharāja, he sold it to the king for money amounting to a lakh. With the help of that capital he bought, on one occasion, some sacks of madder that had come, and when he came to sell them, he saw some spoons of gold that had been hidden in them by merchants, for fear of water-thieves, so he took them out from all the sacks. After that he became the principal man of the whole town, honoured by king Siddha, and he was, as a Jaina layman, a zealous propagator of the Jaina faith. Every day and every year he gave at will to Jaina hermits, food, garments and other requisites, and in a secret way he built new religious foundations, and restored dilapidated ones wanting in splendour, in his own country and foreign countries.

Like a tree hidden by a creeper, like every seed concealed by the
earth,
Generally a good deed done secretly comes to hundred-fold ramification.

Here ends the story of Sāha Ābhaḍa.

Then, on another occasion, Siddharāja, who was eager to traverse the ocean of transmigratory existence, and kept questioning[2] singly all sects in all countries from a desire to know the truth about God, religion, and the proper object of veneration, and discovered that they all exalted their own systems and spoke evil of rival systems, finding that his mind was placed upon the swing of doubt, summoned Hemacandra, and asked him his opinion on this knotty point. But Hemacandra, after considering the mysteries of the fourteen divisions of knowledge,[3] began in the following words to set forth a decision based on a narrative in a Purāṇa. "Long ago, a certain merchant deserted the wife he had married in his youth, and lavished all his wealth on a *hetaera*. The wife of his youth was for ever applying to people, who understood such matters, to tell her a process of incantation by which she might recover her influence over her husband. At last a man from the country of Gauḍa said, 'I will put your husband into such a state that you can lead him about with a string.' So he gave

[1] Probably we ought to read *khaṇḍaṁ*. Perhaps also *jātīyaratnaṁ*.

[2] P gives *pṛcchya*°. There is a misprint in the text.

[3] "According to others *vidyā* has fourteen divisions, viz. the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya and Dharma." (Monier-Williams, s.v. *vidyā*.)

her a certain drug of inconceivable potency, and departed, telling her to give it him in his food. After the lapse of some days, when the omitted lunar day[1] arrived, she carried out his instructions, and her husband became a bull before her eyes; and as she did not know how to remedy that misfortune, she had to bear the reproaches of the whole world, and spent the time in lamenting over her evil deed. One noon, though scorched by the shooting forth of a shower of unusually fierce rays by the lord of day, she led her husband, transformed into a bull, to graze in green pasture-lands, and she was resting at the foot of a certain tree, wailing bitterly, when she suddenly heard a conversation above her in the air.

"At that moment Çiva had come there in his sky-going chariot, and, having been questioned by Bhavānī as to the cause of the woman's grief, he told her how matters stood, and when she pressed him further, he declared that in the shadow of that very tree there was a simple, which would confer on any creature the nature of a man. Then he disappeared. Thereupon the woman marked out with a line the shadow of the tree, and picked all the plants growing within it, and threw these plant-growths into the mouth of the bull. The bull, by means of that plant placed in its mouth, though it was never known which particular plant it was that produced the effect, recovered its human nature. As that medicinal plant, though its precise nature was never discovered, brought about the desired result, so that discrimination of the right object of veneration, having become obscured by delusion in this Kali age, brings about salvation by the devout cultivation of all systems, though its precise nature is unknown.[2] This is my decision."

When Hemacandra had in these words recommended the honouring of all systems, Siddharāja began to cultivate all religions.

Here ends the story about the claims to veneration of all religions.

Then, one night, the king was looking at a play in the temple of Karṇameru, when a certain ordinary trader, a seller of gram, placed his hand on his shoulder.[3] The king's mind was astonished at his sportive familiarity, but he again and again accepted with satisfaction[4] the betel and camphor which the trader offered him, and when the play was dismissed, he found out, by means of his attendants, the house of the trader and other particulars in the fullest detail, and then, returning to his palace, he went to sleep. In the morning the king, after he had performed the duties incumbent on

[1] I have taken *kṣayāhani* as equivalent to *kṣayāhe*. It appears that *kṣayāha* means the lunar day that is omitted in the adjustment of the lunar and solar calendars.

[2] The confusion of thought seems to me to be in the original.

[3] I omit *skandhena*. It is found in P but not in α and β.

[4] I find in α and P, *paritoṣito*, and in β, *paritoṣato*. Either reading seems preferable to that in the printed text.

him at the beginning of the day, adorned the assembly pavilion with his presence, giving general audience to the people,[1] and summoned the trader that sold gram, and said to him, "My neck is aching from the weight of the hand that you rested on it last night." But he, with prompt readiness of invention, replied, "If your Majesty's shoulder does not feel pain from bearing the weight of the whole earth, even to the verge of ocean, what pain can it feel from the weight of me, a mere lifeless man of straw, that subsists by trade?" The king was delighted by this speech of his, which put matters in their true light, and gave him a present. Here ends the story of the seller of gram.

Then, on another night, the king returned from the Karṇameru temple, after seeing a play, and remarking many lights in the mansion of a certain merchant, he asked what it meant. The merchant answered that they were lakh-lights. The king said to himself, "The man must be rich."

Having gone into the middle of his palace, and passed the moments of the night, thinking himself lucky,[2] he summoned the merchant to his palace and said to him, "By always burning these lights you have perpetual illumination, so how many lakhs are there in your fortune?" Being thus addressed, the merchant said that he actually possessed eighty-four lakhs. The king, as his mind was moved with compassion for him, gave him sixteen lakhs from his treasury, and put it in his power to hoist over his mansion the banner of a crore.

Here ends the story of the sixteen lakhs.

Then, on another occasion, the king once established in the country of Bālāka, in an inaccessible region, a royal grant to Brahmans, named Siṁhapura. In the charter of that grant there were one hundred and six villages. Then, one day, the Brahmans, terrified by the roaring of the lions, asked Siddharāja to give them a residence in the middle of the country. He gave them the village of Āçāmbilī on the banks of the Sābhramatī. And when they were going backwards and forwards carrying their grain from Siṁhapura, he excused them from paying their dues.

Then the king Siddharāja, having made an expedition to Mālavaka, and having come into the vicinity of the village of Vārāhī, summoned the headmen of the village, and in order to test their cleverness, made over to them his own principal state litter to keep for him.[3] Then, when the king had gone further, they all met together, and took the litter to pieces, and stored up the parts of it according to choice in their several homes. Then,

[1] I have already given my opinion that *sarvāvasara* corresponds to the Hindustani *dīwān-i ʻāmm*, as opposed to *dīwān-i-khāṣṣ*.

[2] Hofrath Bühler suggests that we might perhaps read *dhanyamāninaṁ taṁ*, that man who thought himself rich or fortunate.

[3] P gives *nijā sejabālī samarpitā*, which gives a better sense. But *pradhānāṁ* must, of course, be changed to *pradhānā*.

when the king returned, he asked them for that deposit, and when he saw the pieces of the litter, which they brought him separately, he asked with astonishment, "What is the meaning of this?" They represented, "Sir, no single man of us was sufficient for the duty of protecting this thing from robbers and other dangers, so we reflected, 'If any misfortune should happen to it, who will be able to give an answer to the king?' Accordingly we determined on the course that we have taken." Then the mind of the king was astonished and amused, and he gave them the title of Brūca.[1]

Here ends the story of the Brūcas of Vārāhī.

Then, once on a time, king Jayasiṁhadeva returned from conquering Mālavaka, and pitched his camp in the village of Unjhā. He was honoured by the people of the village, whom he had adopted as his maternal uncles,[2] with full streams of milk, and abundance of other suitable things, and that very night, wishing to know their joys and sorrows, he went disguised into the house of a certain villager.[3] Though the villager was busied with milking the cows and other things, he said to the king, "Who are you?" The king informed him that he was a pilgrim, belonging to the country of Mahārāṣṭra, going to the shrine of Someçvara. Then the villager asked the king what were the facts about the good and bad points of the country of Mahārāṣṭra and its king. The king praised the ninety-six royal virtues of that king, and asked the villager about the virtues and failings of the king of Gujarāt. The villager described the skill of Siddharāja in providing for the welfare of his subjects, and his exceeding tenderness towards his employés, and his other good points. The king brought forward an imaginary fault; whereupon the villager said, "Owing to our evil fortune, our king has one fault, namely, the having no son to succeed him." Thereupon he shed tears and pleased the king by his evidently sincere attitude. Then the next morning at daybreak they all assembled together, eager to behold the king, and repaired in a body to his pavilion, and after respectfully saluting him, they sat down on his peerless sofa, and though the officials, whose business it was to assign seats, offered them a seat apart, they said, after testing the sofa's softness by feeling it

[1] Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 135) writes: "Sidh Rāj, however, resented the loss of his chariot only by giving the headmen the title of the Booches or simpletons of Wārāhee, which they long retained." I find in $\beta$, *Būca* for *Brūca*.

[2] Forbes remarks l.c.:—

"Merootoong mentions that the head of the village bore the title of the king's uncle, a circumstance which may be connected with the local tradition still preserved that Myenul Devee was sheltered before her marriage by Hemālu, the headman of Oonja." In this story the king is called Jayasiṁha, in the previous story he was Siddharāja. No doubt the stories were taken by Merutuṅga from different books.

[3] P gives *grāmaṇyo*, which would mean "head of a village."

with their hands, "We find we can remain seated here very comfortably;" and so remain they did, while a smile diffused itself over the lotus of the monarch's face.

Here ends the story of the villagers [1] that lived at Unjhā.

Then, once on a time, a Kṣatriya of the Jhālā family,[2] named Māŋgū, was in the habit, in his daily visits to the court, for the purpose of paying his respects to Siddharāja, of flinging down on the ground a couple of crowbars before he sat down, and of taking them both up, when he rose. Now, when he took food, he consumed an oil-bottle [3] full of *ghī*, and when he wiped his beard smeared with *ghī*, the sixteenth part of the *ghī* remained on it. Once on a time he was ill, and when he was put on diet, at the end of the prescribed allowance of rice-gruel, that was restricted to five *mānas*, the physician scolded him, saying, "Why did you not drink water of immortality in the middle of your meal? For

One should drink a thousand pitchers before the sun arises,
But, when the thousand-rayed one has risen, one drop is equal to a pitcher.

In the four last *ghaṭikās* of the night, until the sun arises, whatever water is drunk or water-regimen employed, is called diamond water, and water of immortality, but the water that is drunk in the morning on an empty stomach, when the sun has risen, is poison; therefore a drop of that is equal to a hundred pitchers. The water that is drunk in the middle of a meal is water of immortality, but the water that is drunk at the end of a meal—water drunk at that time, I say, is called umbrella or umbrella-water." [4] But Māŋgū said, "I will consider what I have already taken as half my meal, and I will now drink water, and take as much again." But, when he was proceeding to do this, that same physician forbade him. Once the king asked him why he was unarmed. He answered, "My weapon is whatever comes handy at the moment;" and on another occasion, at the time of bathing, he saw an elephant being driven on by its driver; so he struck the animal on its uplifted trunk with a dog that was near him, and when the elephant was thus wounded in a tender place, he seized its tail, and by his peerless strength the elephant was internally ruptured, and the driver was compelled to alight, and then the elephant, falling on the ground, was deprived of life. The same man, when the king of Gujarāt had fled, cut down in battle the invading Mlecchas [5] as he pleased, and the

[1] P gives *grāmaṇīnāṁ*, which means headmen of a village.
[2] See p. 229 and ff. of Forbes's Rās Mālā.
[3] P gives *kumbha*, a pitcher, which is perhaps better, as the author evidently wishes to represent that Māŋgū consumed a great deal of *ghī*.
[4] According to another reading, "concealed, or concealed water."
[5] i.e. Muhammadans.

place where so fighting he went to heaven, is generally known in Pattana as the plot of Māŋgū.

Here ends the story of Māŋgū, of the family of Jhālā.

Another time, some ministers of a Mleccha king[1] having arrived, the king summoned certain makers of costumes that had come from Madhyadeça, and after giving them some secret orders dismissed them. Then, when the next evening had come, and a violent wind had sprung up, resembling that which blows at the time of the destruction of the world, the king repaired to his hall of audience that resembled Sudharman, and looked at the sky. Suddenly he beheld descending from the sky a couple of Rākṣasas illuminated with the gleam of gold by a couple of gold bricks, one of which was placed on the head of each. The people present in court were bewildered with fear, but the two Rākṣasas laid that present on the footstool of the king, and bowed before rolling on the ground, and then made this representation: "To-day the great king of kings Vibhīṣaṇa, in the city of Laŋkā, at the time of worshipping the gods, remembered the blessed Rāma, the authority that established him on his throne,[2] the flower of the race of Raghu, charming all by his many attractive qualities, and himself perceiving by the eye of knowledge, that his master had now become incarnate as the flower of the Cālukya race in Siddharāja, felt his mind excited with longing for him, and sent us, commissioning us to inquire whether he should come here to pay his respects, or whether your Majesty would honour him by going to Laŋkā. So we hope that your Highness will announce by your royal mouth your decision on this point." When the two Rākṣasas had uttered this speech, the king reflected a little in his mind, and gave them this answer, "We ourselves, borne on by a wave of full-blown wonder, will come in due time to visit Vibhīṣaṇa." After saying this, he gave them as a return present, a chain consisting of a single string, that adorned his own neck. The two Rākṣasas made this special request, "May I and this man not be forgotten when you send your servants!"[3] With these words they departed through the air, and were lost to view. Immediately those Mleccha ministers were bewildered with fear, and abandoned their bold attitude, and being summoned before the king, they uttered words distinguished by a profusion of devotion, and after offering a suitable present to that sovereign, were dismissed by king Siddha.

[1] P gives *Mleccheça°*. This I translate. *Samāyateṣu* in the same line is a misprint for *samāyāteṣu*.

[2] *Rājasthāpanācāryasya*. On page 196 we find *rājasthāpanācāryatvāt*.

[3] P reads *pratiprābhṛtaṁ sādī (sic) kṛtya āpṛcchanāvasare prabhuṇāhamanyasminnapi preṣyapreṣaṇāvasare na vismaraṇīyaḥ*. This would make Siddharāja ask that he might not be forgotten when the king of Laŋkā sent his servants another time. The Bühler MSS. α and β agree with P, but give rightly *prasādīkṛtya*; α has *vismāraṇīyaḥ*.

Here ends the story showing how king Siddha prevented a Mleccha invasion.

Then, shortly afterwards, some bards were celebrating, in the court of the king of the city of Kollāpura, the glory of Siddharāja, when the king exclaimed, "We will believe in Siddharāja[1] as a king really skilled in magic arts, when he shows us some manifest wonder." The bards, having been thus snubbed by that king, reported the matter to Siddharāja. Then the king looked round his court,[2] and a certain officer, who knew his mind,[3] placed his hands in an attitude of supplication, and thus manifested his own wish. The king asked him in secret the reason of his behaviour, whereupon he told the king what the king's desire was, and said in so many words, "This matter can be arranged at the cost of three lakhs." Without any delay, having obtained the three lakhs from the king, in a moment indicated by the astrologers, he disguised himself as a merchant, collected all his merchandise, and took with him, to keep up the character of a magician,[4] a couple of golden shoes studded with jewels, and a magnificent magician's wand, and a couple of jewelled earrings, and a magic garment characteristic of that kind of magic,[5] and a short petticoat,[6] bright as the sun, and after completing the journey in a few days, he took up his abode in that city. When the night of the Dīwālī festival was near, and the wives of the king of that city came to his palace, in order to worship the goddess Mahālakṣmī, that officer, having assumed the disguise of a magician, adorned with all those paraphernalia, and being accompanied by a certain Barbara,[7] who had carefully practised flying in the air, suddenly appeared on the pedestal of the goddess. He offered an oblation of gold, jewels, and camphor to the goddess, and distributed to the king's wives betel similarly adorned, and left there a magic garment marked with the name of king Siddha, pretending that it was a religious gift, and mounting on the back of Barbara, flew up into the air, and so returned as he came. When the night came to an end, the king was informed by his wives of this act of the hostile monarch, and being bewildered with fear, he sent back that present to king Siddha by the hands of his ministers. Then that officer quickly hurried through the business of buying and selling his wares, and so on, and sent a message to his king by a swift runner, that he was not to grant an audience to those ministers until his arrival. After that, he arrived

[1] Siddha often means "an adept in magic arts."
[2] P has *sabhāṁ*.
[3] I read with α and P, *taccittavedinā*.
[4] Here α and β give *siddhasaṅketaṁ* for *siddhaçaṅkeva*. P gives *saṅketa*. I follow α and β.
[5] More literally, "that kind of *yoga*." "Magic" is only one meaning of *yoga*.
[6] I read with P, *caṇḍātakāṁ ca*; β has *caḍātakaṁ ca*; α, *caṇḍāntakaṁ ca*.
[7] For an account of Barbara see Indian Antiquary IV. pp. 235, 236, 265; and Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 12.

there quickly in a few days. The king, having been informed of the real state of the case, took such steps to win over those ministers as the occasion demanded.

Here ends the story of the king of Kollāpura.

King Siddharāja brought back king Yaçovarman as a captive from the country of Mālava. While a general audience[1] was being given, a jester, named Sīlana, sang behind the king, "The sea is drowned in the boat." The king rebuked him, saying, "You are talking incongruous nonsense." But he said, "The sea of Mālava is drowned in the land of Gujarāt, which resembles a boat." Thus he explained away the ornament of contradiction by the ornament of the necessary conclusion,[2] and received a golden tongue from the king.

Here ends the story of Sīlana the jester.

Once on a time an eloquent diplomatic agent of Siddharāja was questioned by a king of Benares, named Jayacandra, about the nature of the temples, cisterns, reservoirs, and so on of Aṇahillapura, and the king made to him this severe reflection on the city[3]:—"The water of the Sahasraliṅga tank is the remains of an offering to Çiva, and since it ought not to be touched, those who use it are therefore hostile to both worlds;[4] how then can the people of that place increase in power? So king Siddha acted very improperly in having the tank constructed." The diplomatic agent was inwardly irritated by the king's speech, and asked him this question, "Where does the water come from that is drunk in this city of Benares?" The king answered, "We drink the water of the Ganges." The diplomatic agent rejoined, "Is not the water of the river of the gods the remains of an offering to Çiva, since Çiva's head is the abiding-place of the Ganges?"

Here ends the story of the Gujarātī minister's conversation with king Jayacandra.[5]

Once on a time a diplomatic agent came from the land of Karṇāṭa, and when queen Mayaṇalladevī asked him for news of the health of her father, king Jayakeçin, he gave her, with eyes suffused with tears, the following report:—"My lady, the great king Jayakeçin, whose name is invoked auspiciously, at the time of taking his meal called a pet parrot to come out of its cage. The parrot uttered the word 'Puss,' but the king looked round, and not seeing the cat, which was hiding under the vessel containing

[1] *Avasara* is probably equivalent here to *sarvāvasara*.

[2] For "contradiction" (*virodha*) see Sāhitya Darpaṇa, 718; for "necessary conclusion" (*arthāpatti*) see ibid. 737.

[3] P, α, and β give *uktaṁ*, which appears to be ungrammatical.

[4] I find in α, *Çivanirmālyatayā aspṛçyatayā tatsevamāno lokadvayavirodhena tatra vāstavyo lokaḥ*. The reading of β is almost identical. P gives *tayā aspṛçyatayā sevagāno lokadvayavirodhena tatra vāstavyo lokaḥ*.

[5] The reading of α is most explicit, *rājñā samaṁ uktipratyuktiprabandhaḥ*.

his food,[1] made this solemn promise, 'If you are killed by the cat, I will go to the next world[2] with you.' Thereupon the parrot flew out of the cage, and perched on that golden vessel, and was immediately killed by that cruel monster. When the king saw that his pet was killed, he put down the mouthful of food that he was about to eat, and though he was dissuaded by his courtiers, who knew how to put the matter suitably in words, he replied,—

'Let my kingdom depart, let my prosperity depart, let even my life depart immediately,
But let not the promise, which I myself gave, ever be broken!'

"Repeating this sentence over to himself, as if it were the name of a favourite divinity, he ascended, together with that parrot, a funeral pyre piled up with wood."

When Mayaṇalladevī heard this speech, she was plunged in a lake of grief, but wise men drew her out of it, by extending to her the supporting hand of eminent religious counsel. Then she went on a pilgrimage to Someçvara Pattana for the good of her father's soul, and summoned a certain Brahman who knew the three Vedas, and at the time of placing the water donation in his hand, she said, "If you will take my sins in three lives,[3] I will give you the gift, but not otherwise." He exhibited special satisfaction at that offer of hers, and received from her a pitcher full of sins, accompanied by elephants, horses, gold, and so on. Then he gave all that away to Brahmans. The queen asked him, "What is the meaning of this proceeding?" He answered, "I took over your sins in three lives, because I reflected that it was owing to your merit in a former existence, that you had been in this life the wife of a king and the mother of a king; and, moreover, that your next life would be one ensuring felicity, owing to these your transcendent gifts and good deeds.[4] I thought that, when you had once undertaken to make over a pitcher full of sins, some low Brahman would take it, and plunge himself and you in the sea of successive births, whereas I, who have renounced all property, by receiving all this wealth, and giving it away again, have obtained merit containing all the qualities of the conduct that I took over[5]: and this is the preferable alternative. This is why I took that pitcher."

[1] I read *bhojanabhājanādhobhāgavartinaṁ°*, which I find in α and β. The text probably means "hiding under the boiled rice provided for the king's meal."
[2] The word used in the original is *sahagamana*, which is used in the case of a widow who is burned with her husband's corpse.
[3] Apparently the present life, the life immediately preceding it, and that immediately succeeding it.
[4] P appears to give *dānasukṛtaiḥ*.
[5] For *labdādṛṣṭaguṇaṁ* P and α give *labdhādaṣṭaguṇaṁ*. P, α and β omit *labdham* before *iti*. The reading of α and P probably means "I now possess merit eight times as great as that which I took over." I find in β, *labdhāṣṭaguṇaṁ*.

Here ends the story of the pitcher of sins.

Then, once on a time, Siddharāja, having warred against the land of Mālava, was returning to his camp in his own country, when he perceived that the road was blocked in midway by an irresistible force of Bhillas. That fact having become known, the minister, named Sāntū, took horses from every town and every village, and put litters on every bullock, and by thus assembling a superior force,[1] he frightened away the Bhillas, and brought back Siddharāja without any difficulty.

Here ends the story of Sāntū, the minister, also called the story of intellectual resource.[2]

Then, on a certain night, two truly sharp-witted servants were engaged in shampooing the feet of Siddharāja. The first, thinking that his eyes were closed in sleep, praised Siddharāja as able to administer punishment and favours, as the wishing-tree of his servants, and the home of all kingly virtues. But the other, under the same impression, praised that monarch's actions in former births, which had given him the throne of a mighty kingdom. That king, as he had overheard this conversation,[3] was determined to render nugatory the praise of his previous actions, and the next day he gave to the servant who had praised himself, a promotion letter, without informing him what its contents were. He wrote in it, "You must give this servant the post of commander of a hundred horse," and ordered the servant to take it to the prime minister Sāntū. Then, as the servant was going down the staircase leading from the upper room, his foot slipped, and he fell on the floor, and was obliged to admit that he had slightly injured his limbs. The other servant, who was coming behind him, said to him, "What is the meaning of this?" The first told him of his condition, and made over to him the letter, and was placed in a litter and carried home. The prime minister, in accordance with the letter, gave to the servant who brought it, the post of commander of a hundred horse.

Then the king, reflecting on what actually befell the two servants, believed thenceforth that actions performed in a previous state of existence are more powerful than anything else.

> Personal appearance does not produce fruit, nor family, nor character,
> Nor knowledge, nor service performed to men,
> Truly merits accumulated by previous penance
> In due time produce fruit for a man, even as trees.[4]

[1] I find in *α*, *melitātidalastadbalena.*

[2] The reading of *α* and *β* may be thus translated, "the story of the intellectual resource of the minister Sāntū."

[3] *Ākarṇitena* should probably be *ākarṇite*, the reading of *β*.

[4] This is No. 3825 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He finds it in Bhartṛhari. He reads in the second line *na ca yatnakṛtāpi sevā.* The Bombay editor gives a various reading from the Subhāṣitāvalī.

Here ends the story of the predominance of the servant's merit in a previous state of existence.

Victory to that lopper of eminences in the three worlds, king Jesala,
Who, by extirpating the race of kings, made one umbrella in the earth!
Men intent on conquest do not brook that anything should be superior even by a *mātrā*,
Therefore thou, the lord of the earth, didst sweep away the lord of Dhārā.[1]
Abandon thy pride, O Sarasvatī; leave off, O Ganges, the adornments of thy good fortune;
O Yamunā, fruitless are thy meanderings; O Revā, cease thy rapid race!
The sea is now in love[2] with a new bride, even the river produced by the flow
Of blood spouting from the enemies' shoulders cleft by the sword of Siddheça.
O victorious royal lion-king, truly, when thy triumphant march begins,
On account of the drying up of the beds of waters by the cheeks of elephants, and in the expectation of the wounds of heroes,
Considering that the time has come for the destruction of their several lords, afflicted with anxiety,
The female fish weeps, and the female gnat laughs, women think of the throbbing of their left limbs.[3]

The land of a lakh and a quarter, with many lakhs,
Was given to king Ānāka, who bent in submission,
But thou didst not suffer even Mālava[4] to remain
With the defiant enemy Yaçovarman, O Siddharāja.

Many other panegyrics and stories, like these, are recorded of him.

King Jayasiṁha ascended the throne in the year 1150[5] of the Vikrama era; so he reigned forty-nine years.

Here ends the third chapter of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi compiled by the teacher Merutuṅga, entitled the description of the various exploits and manifold achievements of the two kings Karṇa and Siddharāja.

[1] Dhārānātha, lord of Dhārā, is longer by a *mātrā* than Dharānātha, which means "lord of earth."

[2] Or "dyed red with." The sea is looked upon as the husband of the rivers. Revā is another name for the Narmadā (Nerbudda). The word translated "adornments" means also "windings."

[3] This is inauspicious.

[4] The Bombay editor considers that Mālava may also mean, "an atom of good fortune." Lakṣmī is often called *mātṛ*.

[5] This date is accepted by Miss C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. Rickmers); Indian Chronology, p. 134.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE HISTORY OF KUMĀRAPĀLA.

Now begins the history of Kumārapāla, that most excellent follower of the Jina.

When the greater [1] Bhīmadeva was ruling as emperor in the glorious Aṇahillapurapattana, there was in the city of king Bhīma a *hetaera* of the name of Cāulādevī,[2] who was in Pattana a famous vessel of beauty and merit, excelling even matrons of good family.[3] The king, considering that she was a person of eminent rectitude, in order to test that disposition of hers, caused to be deposited with her by his servants, as a retaining fee, a dagger worth a lakh and a quarter. And in his eagerness, that very night, he seized the auspicious moment for setting out on an expedition to a foreign land. The king remained two years in the country of Mālava, intently engaged in war. That Cāulādevī, on the strength of the retaining fee given [4] by the king, avoided all men, and lived in a state of perfect chastity. Bhīma of boundless valour returned home victorious, and having heard of that behaviour of hers, which was repeated from man to man, and so came to his ears, placed her in his harem. Her son was Haripāla, his son was Tribhuvanapāla, and his son was the king Kumārapāla.[5] Now Kumārapāla, though he did not know the true faith,[6] was compassionate, and behaved like a brother to the wives of others. But Siddharāja was told by those who knew the science of foretelling men's careers by marks on their bodies, that Kumārapāla should be king immediately after him. As Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne, and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction. Kumārapāla suspected that fact, and having his mind filled with fear of that king, wandered round many and various foreign countries disguised as an ascetic, and after he had spent many years in this way, he returned to Pattana and lived in a certain monastery. Then, on the occasion of the *çrāddha* of king Karṇa, king Siddharāja invited, out of religious zeal, all hermits, and as he was himself washing the feet of them all, one by one, he touched

[1] I take it that *vṛhat* is used to denote Bhīma I. as opposed to Bhīma II., who would probably be called *laghu*. (See Bühler's Arisiṁha, pp. 11 and 18.)

[2] Or Cakulādevī.

[3] Here P gives *atiçāyinīṁ*.

[4] I read with P, α and β, *taddatta* for *tadvitta*. For the circumstance, cp. Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit, p. 96.

[5] For other accounts see Bühler's H.C. p. 23, and note 55.

[6] I read *aviditadharmo'pi* with α and β. Kumārapāla's conversion apparently took place after he had ascended the throne.

with the palm of his hand the feet of the hermit named Kumārapāla, which were soft as a lotus; thereupon he recognized by the upward lines on them and other signs, that the hermit was worthy of a throne, and he looked upon him with fixed gaze. The hermit knew by his gestures that he was hostile to him, so he immediately changed his clothes, and fled with the rapidity of a crow. A potter, named Āliŋga, in whose shop earthenware vessels were being baked, hid him among them, and so saved him from the king's officers,[1] who were on his track. In due course he went on from that place, and having been chased by the king's men, who were busily engaged in looking for him, and not seeing[2] any difficult ground near, that would serve as a refuge, he fled into a certain field, where the watchers of the field piled up higher a heap that they were making with lopped-off boughs of a thorny tree, and hid him in it, and then went back to their places. The tracker followed the track to that place, but the king's soldiers, thinking that it was altogether improbable that he would be there, turned back, after probing that heap of boughs with the point of a lance, and not finding him after all. Those who were looking after the field took him out of that heap on the second day, and thence he went on along a certain tedious desolate road, and on the way rested under the shade of a tree.[3] There he saw with furtive glance a mouse bringing a silver coin in its mouth out of a hole, and watched till it brought out as many as twenty-one silver coins, then it took one back and entered its hole. But he seized all the coins that were left behind and hid himself. In the meanwhile the mouse came back, and not seeing them, died of grief on that account. His mind was afflicted with sorrow for that occurrence, and he remained plunged in grief for a long time; then he went on, and as he had been without food on the journey for three days, his belly was pinched with hunger. Then a certain daughter-in-law of a rich man, who was returning from her father-in-law's house to the house of her father, refreshed him with a dish of ground rice mixed with curds, perfumed with camphor, treating him as kindly as if he had been her brother. After that, he wandered through many foreign countries, and when he reached Cambay, he went to the great minister Udayana to ask for provision for his journey. Hearing that he had gone to his *pauṣadha*[4]-house, he went there,

[1] I read *rājapuruṣebhyo* after *tadānupadikebhyo* with α, β and P.

[2] I read with α and β, *anavalokya*. P has a letter *m* which no doubt stands for *n*. The text means that Kumārapāla did see difficult ground near.

[3] I read *prāntarāntarvrajan* with α, and °*cchāyāyāṁ* with α, β and P.

[4] This represents the Jaina Prakrit word *posaha*, Pali, *uposatha*. The proper Sanskrit word is *upavasatha*. See Hoernle's translation of the Uvāsaga Dasāo, page 32. On page 42 Ānanda cleans "a house for keeping the *posaha* observances." He devotes "himself in his *posaha*-house to the self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration" (p. 54). Perhaps it is here equivalent to "monastery." Hofrath Bühler uses "Jaina-Kloster" as an equivalent (H.C. p. 25).

and Udayana questioned the teacher Hemacandra about him. Hemacandra replied as follows. Observing the extraordinary marks on his body, Hemacandra gave it as his opinion that Kumārapāla would be a universal monarch. That Kṣatriya, as he had been afflicted with poverty from his birth, considered that speech very doubtful, and remarked, "This is impossible."[1] The sage said, "If in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramāditya, on the second day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika, on a Sunday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta, you are not solemnly installed as king, I will thenceforth renounce all observation of prognostics." With these words he wrote down his prediction on paper, and gave one copy to the minister and another to Kumārapāla. Then that Kṣatriya, as his mind was full of astonishment at the skill which Hemacandra possessed in the arts, said, "If this is true, then you shall be king, and I will be the dust of your feet." When that Kumārapāla made this promise, the hermit exclaimed, "What have I to do with desire for a kingdom that leads to hell? Let that be! But you must be grateful, and must not forget this speech, and must always be devoted to the law of the Jina." Kumārapāla reverently accepted this admonition, and taking leave of him, went home with the minister. The minister refreshed him with a bath and food and drink, and gave him the supplies for the journey that he asked for, and sent him on his way, and so he went to the country of Mālava. He saw on a laudatory tablet in the temple of Kuḍaṅgeçvara—

When one thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine years are completed,
There shall arise Kumāra the king, like you, O king Vikrama.

When he saw this *gāthā*, his mind was filled with astonishment, and hearing that king Siddha, lord of Gujarāt, had gone to the next world, he returned from Mālava, and as his supplies for the journey were exhausted, he took food from the shop of some shopkeeper in that[2] city, and fled and came to Aṇahillapura, and in the night, as he had no money, he went to the shop of a baker and ate his food, and reached the mansion of his sister's husband, Rāja Kānhaḍadeva. He, having just returned from the king's palace, treated him with respect, and took him in, and he slept there after he had been refreshed with good food and other luxuries. Early next morning that brother-in-law[3] of his made his forces ready for battle, and took Kumārapāla with him, and in order to see who ought to be installed as

[1] I read *kṣatriyeṇāsambhāvyametad*,° which I find in P and α; β has *kṣatriyeṇa asambhāvyam* without *sandhi*.
[2] I read with α and β,° *çambalastasmin*. There is a great divergence of reading in this passage.
[3] More literally "sister's husband."

sovereign, he first placed a prince on the cloth of state,[1] and seeing that he did not cover himself even with the border of his upper garment, he put another in his place. As he saw that the second prince folded his hands together, he also was rejected. Then by the order of Kānhaḍadeva, Kumārapāla, folding his garment tightly round him, snuffing up the air, sat down on the throne, brandishing his sword in his hand. He was at this time of the age of fifty years. The family chaplain bestowed a blessing on him, while drums and other musical instruments sounded, and Kānhaḍadeva prostrated himself before him, touching the earth with five limbs. Kumārapāla, on account of his mature age, and the discernment that he had acquired by wandering about in foreign countries, himself held the reins of government, and thereby gave offence to the old royal servants, who banded themselves together, and determined to kill him. They placed assassins in dark gateways, but the king was informed of that circumstance by a certain trustworthy servant, who was impelled to do this by the king's merits in a previous state of existence, so he avoided the entrance [2] where they were posted, and entered the fort by another gate, and then dismissed those ministers to the city of Yama. That provincial governor, his sister's husband, presuming on his connection with him by being his brother-in-law, and on the fact of his having been the authority that established him on his throne, began babbling about the secrets of his former depressed condition. Afterwards the king said to him, "Come, my brother-in-law, you must not, on the royal circuit and in the public hall of audience, make jokes about the secrets of my former depressed condition; henceforth you must not say such things before the court, but whenever we are alone you may say what you please." This request the king made to him. But owing to his haughtiness and contemptuous spirit, he rejected his speech, though salutary, as one who longs for death rejects medicine, and said, "Foolish man, are you at this early stage abandoning your feet?" The king dissimulated his real feelings by disguising the expression of his face; but next day he had his brother-in-law's limbs paralyzed [3] by wrestlers, to whom the royal orders had been conveyed, and after putting out both his eyes, he sent him to his house.

[1] *Paṭṭe.* So on page 38 of the text, *paṭṭe samupaviṣṭaḥ* means "ascended the throne."

[2] I follow P and the printed text, but the editor in his Errata gives *pradeçaṁ* with α; β has *deçaṁ*. This would mean, "he avoided the place where the assassins were posted."

[3] In the Kathā Koça the phrase *gātrabhaṅgaṁ kṛtvā* is used in a similar sense, p. 120 of my translation. Here we have *aṅgabhaṅgaṁ kṛtvā*. In the Kathā Koça the persons so victimized have the use of their limbs restored to them. On page 188 of the text, *aṅgabhaṅga* is used with regard to the servant who was disabled by falling down the staircase. The word is explained in Molesworth's Marāṭhī Dictionary as "a feeling of luxation in the joints, of shatteredness or great relaxation and lassitude." It is unnecessary to remind readers of Indian history of the blinding of Kāmrān by Humāyun.

In the beginning this truly was kindled by me,
And will therefore not burn me, even though treated with disrespect,
Under this delusion, even with the joint of the finger
One should not touch a candle, likewise not a king.[1]

Reflecting on this maxim, the military officers in every direction, having their minds bewildered with fear, from that time forward treated the king with respect on every occasion. That king made the son of Udayana, who was his benefactor in time past, named Vāgbhaṭadeva, his prime minister. He made a man named Āliŋga[2] the chief member of his council. But the prince named Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister, Udayanadeva, whom Siddharāja had adopted as his son, despising Kumārapāladeva, made himself the soldier of the king of the Sapādalakṣa[3] country. He, desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, surrounded with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarāt. Then the emperor of the Caulukya race encamped his own military force in a defiant attitude near the camp of the enemy. When a day for battle had been fixed, and the border[4] was being cleared of enemies, while the force of all four arms was being made ready, the driver of the royal elephant, Cāuliŋga by name, being reprimanded by the king for some offence, threw down his elephant-hook in a rage. Then the king appointed to his post an elephant-driver named Sāmala, a man of incalculable merit, giving him at the same time very much wealth.[5] So he put armour on his own elephant, named Kalahapañcānana,[6] and placed the king's seat upon him, and there he put thirty-six weapons, and he himself, a man filled with the whole circle of arts,[7] placed his feet in the neck-rope and mounted. When the Caulukya king was in his seat on the elephant, seeing that the men, who were ordered by the generals commanding in the battle to make the soldiers charge, disobeyed the order, owing to prince Bāhaḍa's having sown the seeds of disaffection in the army, he came to the conclusion that his army was corrupted. So he ordered the elephant-driver to advance, recognizing in the force opposed to him the elephant of the king of the Sapādalakṣa land by the insignia of the umbrella and chowries.

[1] I find in α, *spriçcta ko dīpam ivāvaniçaṁ.*

[2] This Āliŋga is mentioned again on page 233 of the printed text. He is clearly not the same man as Āliŋga the potter.

[3] Bühler tells us that this is identical with Çākambharī, the modern Sāmbhar, in Eastern Rajputana. (H.C. p. 31.)

[4] *Sīman* in the sense of "border" is said to be usually feminine.

[5] But I find in α, β and P, *dukūlavastradānapūrvakaṁ*, which would mean that the king gave him a splendid set of garments.

[6] This probably means "the lion of strife." But *pañcānana* (five-faced) often means the god Çiva.

[7] This appears to be introduced for the sake of a pun.

As the solidarity of his army was broken, he made up his mind that he would have to fight alone, and he ordered his elephant-driver to take his elephant near the hostile monarch. When he saw that even that elephant-driver hesitated to do what he was ordered, he said, "Have you also fallen away?" But the elephant-driver answered, "Your Majesty, these two, the elephant Kalahapañcānana and the elephant-driver, named Sāmala, do not fall away even in the destruction of the world at the end of a Yuga, but on the forehead of the hostile elephant is mounted the shrill-voiced prince Bāhaḍa, at whose shout even elephants take to flight." After saying this,[1] he covered the ears of his elephant with the two ends of his upper garment, and brought his elephant into contact with the hostile elephant. Then Bāhaḍa, knowing that he had previously secured the driver named Cāuli, stepping forward from his own elephant, sword in hand, put his foot on the forehead of Kalahapañcānana, with the hope of killing Kumārapāla, but that driver withdrew his elephant, so Bāhaḍa fell on the ground, and was captured by the soldiers of the infantry corps. Then the Caulukya king said to the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, named Ānāka, "Make ready to use your weapons," and skilfully directed an arrow straight towards the lotus of his face. Then he deceived him with sarcastic praise, saying, "You are an eminent Kṣatriya," and piercing him with that iron dart, struck him down on the forehead of his elephant, and exclaiming, "Victory! Victory!" that king waved a garment in the air, and attacking all the horses of all the chieftains, captured them.

Here ends the story of prince Bāhaḍa.

After that, the Caulukya king, being a very emperor among the grateful, gave to Āliṅga the potter the splendid [2] grant of Citrakūṭa, containing seven hundred villages. But his descendants, being ashamed of their pedigree, are even now called Sagaras. Those men, who rescued the king by placing him in the middle of the thorn-branches that they had cut, were appointed to the post of guards.

Then a musician, named Solāka, having on a certain occasion pleased the king by his skill in singing, received from him a hundred and sixteen *drammas*,[3] but, as he procured with them some confectionery and gave a treat to children, the king was angry and banished him. Then he went to a foreign country, and having delighted the king of it by his skill in singing, he received from him as a mark of favour two elephants, which he brought and presented to the Caulukya monarch, and was therefore honoured by him. Once on a time, a certain foreign musician was making

[1] P, α and β read *ata* for *ityuktvā*.
[2] I find *vicitrā* in α, β and P.
[3] We learn from page 234 of the printed text that Kumārapāla was considered to be niggardly.

a loud noise of lamentation, saying, "I have been robbed, I have been robbed." Thereupon the king said to him, "By whom have you been robbed?" Then the musician answered, "By a deer. It came near me, attracted by my skill in singing, and I sportively placed a gold chain on its neck, and then it ran away, frightened by a lion."[1] Then the king commissioned that king of musicians, named Solāka, to recover it, and accordingly he wandered through the forest, and thanks to his great skill in attracting by means of song, led back with him into the city the deer that had its neck adorned with a golden chain, and showed it to that king. Then the lord, the great teacher Hemacandra, who was astonished in his mind at Solāka's proficiency in accomplishments, asked him the limit of his skill in song, and he said that the most difficult thing he could accomplish was to make a dry piece of wood put forth shoots.[2] He was then called upon to exhibit that marvellous feat. So he caused to be rooted up and brought from Mount Abu a tree called *virahaka*, and placed a piece of wood from a dry branch of it in a trench made of earth from Kumāra, in the king's courtyard, and by his skill in a new song, immediately showed it bursting forth into buds, and so delighted the reverend lord, the sage Hemacandra, and also the king.

Here ends the story of Solāka, the worker of wonders.

Then, one day, as the Caulukya emperor was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard bestowing on the king of the country of Kuŋkuṇa,[3] named Mallikārjuna, the title of "grandfather of kings," and as he looked round the assembly, deeply indignant at it, he was surprised to see that a minister named Āmbaḍa, knowing the royal mind, showed the palms of his hands joined in a suppliant attitude. Immediately after dismissing the assembly, he asked the minister why he joined the palms of his hands in a suppliant attitude. The minister gave him this answer, "I joined the palms of my hands in a suppliant attitude, because I knew that your Majesty was thinking whether there was any brave warrior in the assembly that you might send to destroy that semblance of a king, Mallikārjuna, who falsely prides himself as if he were a king with a complete army of all four arms, and also because I thought myself a fit person to be commissioned by you to do it." As soon as Āmbaḍa had made this petition, Kumārapāla made him commander[4] of an army to march against that king, and gave him a present of five things, and sent him off with all the chieftains. And he, by a continuous series of marches, reached the Kuŋkuṇa country, and while he was crossing the river named Kalaviṇi,

[1] The lion is omitted in *a* and P, and seems unnecessary.
[2] Cp. my translation of the Kathā Koça, p. 66.
[3] Now called "the Concan."
[4] I adopt the reading of P, *a* and *β*, *dalanāyakīkṛtya*.

the swollen stream of which was flowing impetuously, and encamping on the further bank, that king Mallikārjuna, thinking that he was ready for battle, attacked him, and put his army to flight. Then that general, having been conquered by Mallikārjuna, and having his face blackened, put on black clothes, adorned his crest with a black umbrella, and lived in a black tent. The Caulukya king, seeing all this, said, "Whose is this encampment?" They answered, "This is the encampment of the defeated general Āmbaḍa, who has returned from Kuŋkuṇa. The king was astonished in his mind at his sense of shame, and greeted him graciously with a kind countenance, and sent him once more with other powerful chieftains to conquer Mallikārjuna. But he, when he reached the country of Kuŋkuṇa, and came face to face with that river, made a bridge across it, and carefully transported his army across the river by that way, and at the beginning of the desperate battle, that brave warrior Āmbaḍa, arresting, by his gallant behaviour, Mallikārjuna, who was mounted on the back of an elephant, climbed up by the elephant's club-like tusks, as by a ladder, and mounting on his forehead, with the wild joy of battle raging in his veins, he exclaimed, "Strike first! call to mind your favourite deity!" and with a blow of his sharp terrible sword he struck down Mallikārjuna to the earth, and while the chieftains were engaged in plundering his town, he slew him with ease, as a lion's whelp slays an elephant. He had Mallikārjuna's head set in gold, and after establishing in that country the authority [1] of the Caulukya sovereign, he reached Aṇahillapura, and while seventy-two chieftains were sitting in court, he did obeisance [2] to the feet of king Kumārapāla, presenting at the same time the head of Mallikārjuna, the king of the Kuŋkuṇa country.

The king was presented by Āmbaḍa with the following articles, together with the lotus-like head of Mallikārjuna:—

One highly-ornamented gown, two jewelled wrappers,[3] three necklaces that were talismans against misfortune, four zones that were charms to bring about union, also thirty-two golden ewers, also six *sers* of pearls, one four-tusked elephant, 120 bowls, fourteen crores and a half of money by way of fine.

The king was so pleased with Āmbaḍa's exploit, that he gave that great provincial governor the title of "King's grandfather" with his own royal mouth. Here ends the story of Āmbaḍa.

Then, once on a time, in Aṇahillapura, the joyous [4] funeral ceremony of the mother of the Jaina doctor Hemacandra, named Pāhiṇī, to whom he

[1] P, α and β give *ājñāṁ*. [2] But P, α and β give *vastu* for *vavande*.
[3] I find in α and β, *pacchevaḍau*.
[4] Probably, as Forbes points out, the funeral ceremony is called joyous, because the lady was a devotee.

had administered a vow, and at the time of her going to the other world had given the merit of ten million of Namaskāra formulas, was being performed after her decease, and in the neighbourhood of the Tripuruṣa temple, the ascetics of that institution, out of their innate spitefulness, insulted him by breaking the car in which her body was being carried. Enraged at that insult, as soon as he had performed her obsequies, he honoured with his presence the camp of king Kumārapāla, who had gone to Mālava; for—

A man must be a king in his own right, or he must get some king under his influence,
But there is no other way by which human beings[1] can attain their ends.

Considering[2] that this saying is true, he had his arrival notified by the minister Udayana to the king, and as the king was the very crest-jewel of grateful men, he had him conducted to his palace with great attention. The king reminded him of the fact that he had discerned the indications that he himself would obtain the crown, and pressed him, saying, "You must always come to me at the time of worshipping the gods." The sage said,—

We eat what we receive as alms; we wear old garments,
We sleep on the bare earth, what have we to do with kings?

The king answered,—

"It matters not whether one's friend be a king or a hermit;
It matters not whether one's wife be a fair woman or a cave;
It matters not whether one's guiding book be the Veda or a treatise on the Supreme Soul;
It matters not whether one's god be Viṣṇu or the Jina.[3]

In accordance with this composition of the great poet, I desire friendship with you, in order to provide for the next world." Then the king, considering that silence implies consent, and having ascertained so far the real sentiments of the great sage, with his own royal mouth informed the doorkeepers, who were for raising obstruction, that the sage was to be admitted at all times. So the sage Hemacandra came and went when he pleased;

[1] I find in *a*, *mānusahaṁ*. (See Pischel's H.C.G. IV. 339.)
[2] I read *vimr̥çantaḥ* with *a* and *β*.
[3] This stanza is given in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche as follows, "It matters not whether one's god be Viṣṇu or Çiva; it matters not whether one's friend be a king or a hermit; it matters not whether one dwells in a city or a wood; it matters not whether one's wife be a fair woman or a cave." The stanza is attributed by Böhtlingk to Bhartr̥hari. For the *vedam* of the printed text *a* reads *vaidyaṁ*. *Vaidyaṁ* probably means a treatise on medicine.

but when the king praised his many good qualities, the royal chaplain Amiga said out of enmity,—

Viçvāmitra and Parāçara and others who lived on water and leaves,[1]
These even were fascinated when they beheld the charming lotus of the female face,
As for men who live on food blended with *ghī*,[2] and accompanied with milk and curds,
How can they restrain their senses? Only consider the hypocrisy of it!

As soon as the chaplain had said this, Hemacandra answered,—

The mighty lion, that devours the flesh of elephants and wild boars,
Truly visits the lioness once in a year,
The dove, though it lives on hard fragments of stone,
Is every day in love: tell me, what is the reason of this?

When this answer, that closed the chaplain's mouth, had been given, some envious person said, in the presence of the king, "These Çvetāmbaras do not even believe in the sun." Then Hemacandra said, "The proof that we do, is that—

We possess the sun, the abode of splendour, enshrined in our hearts,
And when we know that the calamity of setting has overtaken him, we abandon food." [3]

Thus by dexterity in argument the sage closed the mouth of the objector, establishing this principle, "We Jainas are the true worshippers of the sun, not these people." Then, one day, Hemacandra, the moon,[4] that dispelled the darkness of delusion, came to the palace, at the time of worshipping the gods, and the Gaṇin Yaçaçcandra swept the place where he was to sit, with a brush, and then placed on it a woollen rug.[5] The king, as he did not know the truth, asked Hemacandra what was the meaning of this proceeding. He answered, "Perhaps there is some living creature here, and this trouble is taken to prevent its being injured." The king remarked, "When a living creature is actually seen, this proceeding is appropriate, but not otherwise, as it involves a great deal of useless exertion."

When that Jaina doctor heard that reasonable remark of the king's, he answered, "Do you get ready an army, consisting of elephants, horses, and

[1] P gives *ye cāmbupattrāçinas.*° This I follow.
[2] P gives *sukṛtaṁ*, well cooked.
[3] The followers of the Jaina religion are not allowed to eat at night.
[4] *Candra* means moon: Hemacandra means "moon of gold"; while Yaçaçcandra means "moon of fame."
[5] I read *kambale* with $\alpha$ and $\beta$.

so on, when your enemy, the rival king, arrives, or beforehand? Our religious practice is in accordance with this system which kings follow in their foreign policy." The king thereupon, as his heart was charmed by his merits, offered him the kingdom which he had previously promised to him. But the sage refused it, because such a proceeding was contrary to all authoritative treatises, for he said,—

Of those Brahmans who are burnt by receiving from a king,[1] O Yudhiṣṭhira,
As of seeds that are burnt, no second birth is known.

This is a Pauranic saying, and the scripture of the Jainas speaks to the same effect,—

Store, household furniture, food of kings, and what one fancies as one's favourite dish.[2]

Astonished in his mind by the above admonition the king reached Pattana.

On another occasion the king asked the hermit, "Can the diffusion of my fame be made to last till the end of the Kalpa by any contrivance?" When Hemacandra heard this speech of the king's, he answered, "By relieving the whole world from debt as Vikramāditya did;—or restore the wooden temple of Someçvara, which is almost destroyed by the neighbouring sea, owing to the showers of ocean spray that fall over it, in order that you may attain glory enduring to the end of the present Yuga." By this utterance of Hemacandra, which resembled the rays of the moon, the sea of the king's joy surged up, and he discerned the real character of that great hermit, looking upon him as a father, a teacher, and a god.[3] Immediately, without blaming the Brahmans, he had the favourable moment for restoring the temple indicated by the astrologers, and sent a *pañcakula* there, and had the building of the temple commenced.

On another occasion the king's heart was so charmed with the world-surpassing virtues of Hemacandra, that he asked the minister Udayana this question, "In what race the ornament of all races, and in what country

[1] But α has *rājya°*; β and P support the printed text.

[2] Professor Leumann points out that this is found in the Daçavaikālika Sūtra. See page 614 of his edition. I adopt his translation given on page 598. Of course I read *sannihī* with Professor Leumann and β. MS. α reads *sannīhī*. The line is an extract from an enumeration of the things which a Jaina monk must reject.

[3] The reading of α would give a different sense, "The sea of the king's joy surged up, and looking upon that great hermit as a father, a teacher, and a god, and blaming other twice-born as spurious, he had the favourable, &c." But β omits the word "twice-born," giving *vijātīn itarān nindan*, while α has *vijātīn itaradvijān nindan*; P agrees with α, but gives *anindan*. Probably *vijāti* has the sense assigned to it by Finot, Lapidaires Indiens, p. xxiv. But it may mean merely "people of different castes."

the resort of all merit, and in what city the mine of all virtue,[1] was such a gem of men produced?" When the king was pleased to ask this question, the minister related Hemacandra's pure history from his birth in the following words. "In the country named Ardhāṣṭama,[2] in the city of Dhundukka,[3] there were, of the Çrīmoḍha race, a merchant named Cāciga,[4] and his partner in religion, a very paragon of virtuous women, like the goddess that executes the orders of the Jina, like the goddess of Fortune incarnate, Pāhiṇī by name, and their son was called Cāŋgadeva, having his name distinguished by the first letters of Cāmuṇḍā and the Yakṣa Gonaça.[5] Now, when he was of the age of eight years, the teacher Devacandra set out from Pattana on a pilgrimage to holy places, and came to the Çrīmoḍha temple,[6] in the city of Dhundukka, to worship the god. On this occasion Cāŋgadeva, while playing with some boys of like age, suddenly sat down on the cushion of Devacandra, that was placed on the throne. When Devacandra saw the world-surpassing marks on the greater and lesser limbs of the boy, he came to the conclusion that, if he were born in the Kṣatriya race, he would be a universal emperor, if he were born in a family of merchants or Brahmans, he would be a great minister, but if he adopted the true faith, he would, like the chief saint of a Yuga,[7] bring back the Kṛta age even in the Kali age. Having formed this opinion, that teacher, in his desire to gain possession of the boy, went with the merchants of that city to the house of Cāciga. When they reached it, they found that Cāciga had gone to another village, but they were hospitably received by his wife, who was a discerning woman, with expressions of welcome, and other marks of respect, and they said to her, 'The worshipful congregation[8] has come here to ask for your son.' She shed tears of joy, and considered herself a fortunate mother, rejoicing because the worshipful congregation, an object of respect even to Tīrthaŋkaras, asked for the gift of her son. But though she felt joy on this account, she was not free from despondency,

[1] I read here with the help of P, α and β, *samastavaṁçāvataṁse vaṁçe, deçe ca samastapuṇyapraveçe, niḥçeṣaguṇākare nagare ca.* For *praveçe* α reads *prāvaçe* and β *pravesini*. *Vaṁçe* is clearly wanted.

[2] So called, as containing twelve villages or towns. (Bühler's H.C. p. 66.)

[3] Now Dhandūka. (Bühler's H.C. ibid.) P. has Dhandukka.

[4] So Bühler with α and β. The text gives Cāviga. I have represented *Çrīmanmoḍha* by Çrīmoḍha, as it appears from Bühler's H.C. p. 7 and note, that these merchants are now called Çrīmoḍh Vāṇiās from Moḍherā their original settlement.

[5] MS. α reads *Cāmuṇḍā-nāma-gotrajāyā:* β has *gotrajāyāṁ*. The sense would be "the first letter of the name of Cāmuṇḍā, the family goddess."

[6] The word *vasahikā* denotes a temple with a monastery, &c., attached to it.

[7] *Yugapradhāna.* Professor Leumann says "a person whose fame extends over a whole age (as over the Kali age or the Dvāpara age, &c.). The word is applied to the leaders or heroes of Jaina tradition."

[8] I read with α and β, *çrīsaŋghastvatputraṁ yācitum ihāgata.* This is the reading of P also, but the *gh* is imperfectly formed.

for she had to tell her visitors that his father was exceedingly heretical,[1] and such as he was, he was not at the time in the village. Then those merchants[2] said, 'Give your son yourself.' When they said this, that mother, in order to atone for her sins, piously[3] gave to that teacher her son, who was possessed of infinite merits. Immediately she learnt that the teacher's name was Devacandrasūri. He asked the boy if he would become a disciple, and he answered 'Yes'[4]; so, when the teacher returned, he went with him to Karṇāvatī. He began to be brought up by tutors, in the house of the minister Udayana, with his sons.[5] In the meanwhile Cāciga returned from another village, and hearing what had taken place, he took a vow not to take any food until he saw his son, and having found out the name of that religious teacher, he arrived in Karṇāvatī. When the father reached the teacher's house, being angry, he saluted the teacher with scant respect. The teacher, perceiving that Cāciga was in quest of his son, skilfully endeavoured to win him over by all kinds of persuasions, and brought there the minister Udayana, who, regarding him as a brother in the faith, took him to his own house, and feasted him there with as much attention as if he had been his elder brother. After that, he put his son Cāŋgadeva in his lap, with a gift of five things, and offering him three garments of fine cloth, and three lakhs, which he placed before him, he endeavoured to win him over by his affectionate attentions. Cāciga said to him, 'The price of a Kṣatriya is one thousand and eighty; the price of a horse is seventeen hundred and fifty; the price of even a worthless merchant is ninety-nine elephants; that is equal to ninety-nine lakhs; but you, by offering me three lakhs, are really betraying niggardliness under the veil of generosity. The fact is that my son is invaluable, and your kindness is most invaluable. Let that kindness be the price to buy my son. But your heap of money is not to be touched by me, like the remnant of an offering to Çiva.'[6] When Cāciga stated the position of

[1] This means probably that he felt, with the majority of his countrymen, that his happiness in a future state depended upon the regular presentation of the funeral oblation by his son. (See Bühler's H.C. p. 9.) Before *tādṛço' pi* P inserts *aparaṁ*.

[2] According to α and β, this suggestion came from her relations.

[3] The word *dākṣiṇyād*, which I have so translated, is omitted in α and β.

[4] This was according to prescription. Strictly speaking, a Jaina monk must join the order of his own accord. But Hofrath Bühler points out that, in practice, the order of Jaina Yatis is not recruited by voluntary enlistment, but the rich members of the Jaina community buy boys from their parents. These boys are often the illegitimate sons of Hindu widows.

[5] So in the Pariçiṣṭaparvan (ed. Jacobi), p. 260, l. 16, prince Kuṇāla, at the age of eight years, is taken care of at Ujjayinī by *bāladhārakaiḥ*, the very word used here. Bühler (H.C. p. 10) shows that the place where these occurrences took place was probably Cambay, not Karṇāvatī.

[6] This looks as if Cāciga, like his king, wavered between Çaivism and Jainism. Therein, perhaps, consisted his heresy, in the eyes of his wife. The Sanskrit word is *nirmālyaṁ*, which is specially applied to flowers offered to a god.

affairs with regard to his son in these words, the mind of that famous minister Udayana was filled with joy, and he embraced him with eager cordiality, and exclaiming, 'Bravo! bravo!' spoke as follows, 'If he is made over to me as an adopted son, he will have, like a magician's monkey,[1] to make bows to all men, and will be merely an object of contempt, but if he is made over to this religious teacher, he will himself attain the position of a religious teacher, and will, like the new moon, become an object of adoration to the three worlds. Therefore judge the matter aright and speak.' When the minister said this to him, he answered, 'Your judgment is final,' and so he was conducted to the religious teacher and caused his son to be given to him. After that, Cāciga celebrated the festival of his son's renouncing the world. Then, like Agastya, by means of the attractive character of his unequalled intelligence, that son sucked up the whole ocean[2] of language as a child sucks its fist, and having thoroughly learnt every point of knowledge, he became famous by the name of Hemacandra, which was given to him by his teacher. Inasmuch as his mind was grounded in all the received religious treatises[3] and Upaniṣads, and his body was adorned with the thirty-six good points of a Jaina doctor,[4] his religious teacher formally conferred on him that dignity." When the king heard this account of the birth of the teacher Hemācārya, he rejoiced still more than before. Then, in the commencement of the building of the temple of Somanātha, the putting down of rough stones[5] having taken place, the king showed to the teacher Hemacandra the letter of the *pañcakula* announcing the auspicious news, and said, "How is the commencement of this temple to attain its due proportions without impediment?" When thus questioned by the foremost man of the country, the worshipful teacher thought of some appropriate course, and replied, "In order to remove all impediments to this pious work, let the king either observe strict chastity or abstinence from wine and flesh, one of the two, until the flag is set up on the temple." When the king heard this speech, he chose the self-denial of abstinence from wine and flesh, and throwing water on the image of Çiva, he took that vow. When, after the lapse of two years, that temple was completed as far as the setting up of the finial and flag, the king wished to put an end to his vow, and requested the permission of the teacher; but he replied, "If you desire to visit this temple, which is a memorial of your glory, and the god, who wears a half-moon for his crest,[6] at the

[1] *Yogimarkaṭa.*
[2] Agastya drank up the ocean.
[3] *Siddhānta.*
[4] *Sūri.*
[5] I read *khara°* with P, α and β, because I do not understand the *çikhara°* of the printed text.
[6] i.e. Çiva.

same time, the proper time to put an end to the vow is at the end of the pilgrimage to that shrine." When the great hermit Hemacandra had said this, he rose up, and as the king's heart was filled with changeless affection called forth by his thirty-six good points, he praised him only in the meeting. His courtiers, who were without cause hostile to Hemacandra, could not endure the accumulation of his glory :—

The mean man cannot anyhow endure to behold the exaltation of the man of radiant merit,
The moth [1] even burns its own body to extinguish the bright flame of the candle.

On this principle, they did not even scruple to commit the crime of backbiting, and they uttered calumnies against him, to the effect that he was addicted to excessive complaisance, and said only what the king approved, being skilled in the arts of a courtier. "If this is the case," [2] said they, "when he comes to-morrow, entreat him earnestly to join in the pilgrimage to the temple of Somanātha." The king did so, and the Jaina doctor said, "What need is there to show much zeal about inviting one who is hungry? Why make one who is longing, listen to the cry of the peacock? So runs the popular proverb, and in accordance with it, I ask, why does your Majesty exert yourself to press hermits, whose very profession is the visiting of sacred places?" When the teacher accepted in these words, the king continued, "Will you take a litter suitable to you and so on, and, other conveyances and requisites?" Hemacandra answered, "We will go on foot and so acquire merit, but we will take leave of you immediately, and, proceeding by short stages, will pay our adorations to Çatruñjaya, Ujjayanta, and other famous holy places, and will meet you when you enter Pattana." [3] He said this and acted accordingly. The king, travelling with all his equipage, reached Pattana in a few marches, and was very much delighted at meeting the great hermit Hemacandra, and being accompanied by the Gaṇḍa [4] Bṛhaspati, who advanced to receive him, he entered the city with great rejoicing. He mounted the steps of Somanātha's temple, and after showing his respect by grovelling on the earth, he ardently embraced the *liṅga* of Çiva, in accordance with his long-protracted unparalleled impatience to behold it; then, having his mind bewildered by the saying of the votaries of false religions, "These

[1] A gloss in *a* gives *khadyota*, fire-fly. This is No. 1167 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He takes it from the Subhāṣitārṇava.
[2] The reading of *a* gives "If this is not the case," *yadyevaṁ na*.
[3] Here Somanāthapattana.
[4] He was, according to Bühler (H.C. p. 27), the priest of Somanātha's temple. According to the Bombay editor the word Gaṇḍa means ascetic.

Jainas worship no other god but the Jina," he spoke to Hemacandra as follows, "If it is seemly for you, then worship Someçvara with these pleasing offerings." Hemacandra consented to do so, and after adorning his body with a pair of charming bleached garments that were brought from the king's treasury, he ascended the threshold of the temple, while Bṛhaspati, by the king's orders, gave him his hand to lean on, and, after reflecting a little, he said aloud, "Since Mahādeva, the dweller in Kailāsa, is really and actually present in this temple, wearing a body covered with erect hairs, as if with armour, double your offering." When he had said this, he worshipped Çiva with the five ceremonies of worship, according to the ritual of initiation prescribed in the Çiva Purāṇa, namely, the rites of inviting[1] the god, veiling the head, bodily contortions, inscribing *mantras*, throwing them away, and so on; and at the end he recited the following stanzas:—

At whatever time, under whatever conditions,
Whoever thou art, by whatever name known,
If thou art that one free from the stain of sin,
That only one,—honour to thee, O adorable being!

Whether he be Brahmā or Viṣṇu or Çiva, honour to that being,
In whom passion, and the other feelings that produce the germination of the seed of birth, are extinguished!

With these and other hymns of praise Hemacandra praised the god, making at the same time a profound obeisance, while the king, accompanied by all the courtiers, looked on with astonishment, and when he had ceased, the king himself, having been instructed in the ceremonial of worship by Bṛhaspati, worshipped Çiva with the utmost faith, and afterwards offered on the stone of piety his own weight in gold, and elephants and other great gifts, and performed the ceremony of waving lights in front of the idol with camphor incense. Then he dismissed all his courtiers, and entered the inner sanctuary of the temple, and said to Hemacandra, "There is no god like Çiva, there is no king equal to me, there is no great hermit that can be compared with you, and since, owing to the power of supremely auspicious fortune, the conjunction of these three has been brought about here, and since it is doubtful who is the real god, inasmuch as various gods are established by the arguments of various sects, do you now in this holy place declare to me with true speech who is the god that can give salvation."[2] When the king addressed the teacher Hemacandra in these words, he reflected a little in his mind, and said to the king, "Let us trouble ourselves

[1] In the Çiva Purāṇa the word *āvāhana* is used.
[2] I read with P, *muktipradaṁ*.

no further about the sayings of the Purāṇas and the systems! I will exhibit to you Someçvara, present in bodily form, in order that from his mouth you may learn the way of salvation." When he said this, the king's mind was filled with astonishment, and he said to himself, "What can he be planning that he says this?" Hemacandra continued, "Undoubtedly the god is hidden here, and we are here motionless worshippers in accordance with the instructions of the priest; so, if we both do our parts thoroughly,[1] it will be easy to make the god appear: I will meditate, and you must throw on incense of black aloe wood, and must not desist until the three-eyed god himself appears, and puts a stop to it."[2] Then both of them did as arranged, and the inner sanctuary of the temple was darkened with the thick smoke of incense, and the candles representing the circle of the asterisms were extinguished; when suddenly a light was diffused resembling the brightness of the sun, and as the king in his bewilderment rubbed his eyes and gazed, he beheld over the water-receptacle of the *Liṅga*, an ascetic gleaming like pure gold, of incomparable shape and unfathomable nature, hard to behold by mortal eyes. The king felt the shape with the palm of his hand from his toe to his matted hair, and having ascertained that it was a manifestation of the god, in his devotion he prostrated himself so as to touch the surface of the earth with five limbs,[3] and humbly said, "O lord of the world, my eyes have been satisfied by beholding thee; satisfy with the favour of thy commands my two ears." When he had made this petition, he remained silent, and then from the mouth of the god, which was a sun to illumine the darkness of delusion, a divine speech was revealed, "King, this great hermit is an incarnation of all the gods; he knows the nature of all the three times, because he holds them in his hand like pearls, owing to his direct intuition of the supreme Brahma. The way of salvation taught by him admits of no doubt." When Çiva had said this, he disappeared; and the king was in a state of great excitement; the teacher Hemacandra exhaled the breath that he had been keeping in, and relaxed the forced posture in which he had been sitting, and exclaimed, "King!"[4] and was intending to say, "Live long! advance thy foot!" when the monarch, abandoning his kingly pride owing to his interview with his favourite deity, and modestly inclining his crest, said, "Tell me what I am to do." Thereupon Hemacandra administered to him on the spot a vow to abstain from flesh and wine till the close of his

[1] I think that *dvandva* refers to the two performances, not to the two performers.

[2] I omit *devaṁ*, which is not found in P, α and β. These three MSS. also omit *sa* and *ayaṁ*.

[3] The head, the two hands and the two knees, as pointed out in a note in the Bombay edition.

[4] For *yājanamiti* I read *rājanniti*, and for *jīvapa ādāvadhāryatāmiti*, I read *jīva pādo 'vadhāryatāmiti* with α and β. The latter expression occurs on pages 95, 170 and 257. P gives *jīva pādau 'vadhāryatāṁ iti.*

life; and the teacher and the king[1] returned from that place, and reached the glorious Aṇahillapura. The king was entirely converted by the words of the pure religious treatises, of sanctifying virtue, because they proceeded from the mouth of the Jina, and obtained the title of "Chief of Jainas." At his request the lord composed the "History of the sixty-three great men,"[2] and the purifying "Yogaçāstra," together with the "Praises of the twenty Vītarāgas."[3] Moreover, at the lord's suggestion, the king forbade the slaughter of living creatures for fourteen years in all the eighteen countries subject to him: and he caused to be built in various places 1440[4] temples. He accepted the twelve vows,[5] the foundation of all true piety, and when the third vow, involving the abstinence from the receiving of things not given, was being explained, the king, having been informed that the crimes of taking the property of weeping widows were a special cause of guilt, summoned the officer[6] who presided over that department, and tore up his estimate of income from that source[7] amounting to seventy-two lakhs, and remitted the claims. When they were remitted, the king was praised by the learned in the following stanza:—

What previous lords of earth, Raghu, Nahuṣa, Nābhāga, Bharata and others
did not relinquish,
Though they were born in the Kṛta age,
That very wealth of weeping widows thou relinquishing now out of pity,
Art, O king Kumārapāla, the very crest-jewel of great ones.

The lord Hemacandra also congratulated the king in the following couplet,—

[1] The Bombay editor has a note: *ekaḥ kṣamāyāḥ pṛthivyā anyaḥ kṣānteḥ patiḥ.* This evidently refers to the reading *kṣamāpatī.*

[2] *Triçaṣṭiçalākāpuruṣacaritaṁ.* Professor Jacobi, in the preface to his edition of the Pariçiṣṭaparvan, an appendix to this work, remarks, "The sixty-three *çalākāpuruṣas* are the great personages divine or human, who, according to the belief of the Jainas, have, since the present order of things, risen in the history of the world, and directed or influenced its course; they comprise the twenty-four Tīrthakaras or prophets, the twelve Cakravartins or universal monarchs, the nine Vāsudevas, the nine Baladevas, and the nine Prativāsudevas. With the exception of the last two Tīrthakaras, Pārçvanātha and Mahāvīra, all these great men must be regarded as belonging not to history but to mythology or epical fiction."

[3] For an account of the books referred to, see Bühler's H.C. pp. 83-85.

[4] Or according to β, 1444.

[5] The five "lesser" and the seven "disciplinary" vows. The latter comprise two classes, viz. the three "meritorious" vows, and the four proper "disciplinary" vows. (Hoernle, Uvāsaga Dasāo, Appendix, p. 34.)

[6] *Pañcakula.*

[7] I find in *a*, *tadāyapaṭṭakaṁ.* But the reading of the printed text really gives the same sense. Bühler (H.C. p. 39) shows from the Çakuntalā that this custom was prevalent in Mālwā. (See also Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 150.) Bühler also tells us that it was contrary to the Smṛti.

A king, by taking the wealth of those that have no sons, constitutes himself a son,
But thou, contentedly relinquishing it, art become in truth the grandfather of kings.

Then the king appointed the noble minister Udayana leader of an army to make war on a chief of Surāṣṭra, named Suṁvara,[1] and sent him off with all necessary forces. But he, when he reached the city of Vardhamāna, being desirous of prostrating himself before the feet of Ṛṣabha, asked[2] all the heads of provinces to march on in front of him, and went himself to the Vimala[3] mountain, and with pure faith worshipped with all appropriate observances the feet of the god. When he went on to adore, in accordance with prescribed ritual, the *caityas*, a mouse seized a taper, which was one of the series of lights called asterisms, when it was all blazing, and ran into a hole in the wooden temple. The god's bodyguard made the mouse drop the taper, but after that, the minister, as his meditations had been disturbed by the incident, and he was afraid that the god's wooden temple would be destroyed, conceived a desire to restore the dilapidated temple; and therefore took before the feet of the god the vow to eat only one meal every day and other vows of the kind. After that, he marched on, and reached the encampment of his army, and an engagement took place with that hostile chief. As the king's force was defeated by his enemies, the great Udayana himself rose up to fight. Then his body was mangled by the blows of the enemy, and he was carried[4] to his quarters weeping bitterly. When his followers asked the cause of his lamentation, the minister told them, as his death was near, that in his desire to restore the ruined Çatruñjaya temple and Çakunikā temple, he had laid on his back a debt to the deity. Then they said, "Your sons, named Vāgbhaṭa and Āmrabhaṭa, will take a vow and restore these two holy places, and to this effect we will be their sureties." When they gave this guarantee, the minister thought himself fortunate, and the hairs on his body stood erect from joy, and he sought for a certain man of pious conversation to aid him in making his final act of faith.[5]

As he could not be found, they brought a certain servant disguised as the man wanted, and when he was announced, the minister rubbed his feet against his own forehead, and made his final act of faith under ten heads,

[1] Or Saṁusara.
[2] All three MSS. give *abhyarthya*. I follow them.
[3] The pure mountain. It appears to mean the Çatruñjaya mountain.
[4] I read *nītaḥ* with α and β.
[5] *Antyārādhanā*. The word *ārādhanā* is translated on page 20 of my Kathā Koça, "reconciliation with all." This is probably incorrect. The *ārādhanā* there found seems to contain ten parts. The reference is, as Professor Leumann points out, to the ten Jaina commandments.

and so the blessed Udayana passed to the next world. But the servant, perfumed with the sweet savour of the minister's pious aspirations, as a mean tree by the proximity of a sandal-wood tree, took a vow of starvation, and brought his life to an end on mount Raivataka. Then those followers of his reached the city of Aṇahilla, and informed Vāgbhaṭa and Āmrabhaṭa of what had occurred, and they took the very same vows, and began the restoration of the dilapidated temples. In two years the temple on the holy Çatruñjaya was finished, and a man who had arrived from that place, came to the brothers and announced the good news, and even while he was announcing it, another man arrived, and said, "The temple is cracked." Then, on hearing that speech, which was like boiling lead, Vāgbhaṭa took leave of king Kumārapāla, making over his seal of office to the great minister Kapardin, and with four thousand horse reached the plain at the foot of the Çatruñjaya mountain, and founded there a city called Vāgbhaṭapura after his own name. The artificers investigated the cause of the crack, and said, "The wind, when it enters into a temple with a cloister,[1] does not go out." So that minister reflected on this answer, and on the fact that a temple without a cloister involves childlessness,[2] and said to himself, "Though I may have no posterity, let me have a posterity of good works, and let my name be in the roll of previous restorers, Bharata and others!" Having thus reflected in his far-seeing mind, the minister filled up with stones the space between the two walls of the cloister, and the temple having been finished [3] in three years, he invited the congregation of Pattana to the place to witness the setting up of the finial and its rod [4] on it, and caused the flag to be erected with great rejoicing in V.S. 1211. He set up a stone image [5] with the help of the workmen belonging to the Mammāṇīya quarry, whom he summoned for the purpose. The king [6] erected an image of Pārçvanātha in the name of his father in the Tribhu-

[1] I have taken *bhrama* to mean a cloister, as Dr. Burgess translates *bhamti* by "cloister" (Çatruñjaya temples, pp. 21, 22). But it may possibly mean "a conduit."

[2] C and *a* have *niranvayatāṁ*. This I have translated. Perhaps *niravadyatāṁ* stands for *nirapatyatāṁ*. P has *niravadyatāṁ* with the text. I think that it is a Prakritizing form.

[3] P gives *niṣpanne*, which I follow.

[4] Mr. Cousens writes in a letter, which Dr. Burgess has kindly shown me, "I understand that the term *kalaçadaṇḍapratiṣṭhā* refers solely to the setting up of the *kalaça* or pot-finial, the *daṇḍa* being the pole or stick which supports the finial and upon which it is set up. With a small *kalaça* made solid, it would not be required, the neck of the same taking its place, but it is always required with the larger and more complex *kalaças*, especially those made of hollow metal." The setting up of the flagstaff is often a separate function, according to Mr. Cousens, and this harmonizes with the descriptions given by our author.

[5] I read °*bimbaṁ*.

[6] P gives *nṛpatipitur*°, which would mean that Vāgbhaṭa erected the image in the name of the king's father. It is perhaps meant that Vāgbhaṭa did all these pious works.

vanapāla temple in Vāgbhaṭapura. Moreover, before he caused all this to be done, he gave twenty-four gardens in the city round the rampart, and grants of land, dwelling-houses, and so on, to the god's attendants, in order to keep up the worship of the holy place. As for the expenditure on that restoration of the holy place, the following couplet will show it:—

How can Vāgbhaṭadeva be described by the wise in that temple,
On which a crore and sixty lakhs were spent?

Here ends the story of the restoration of the temples on the holy mount Çatruñjaya.

Then Āmrabhaṭa, the bravest warrior in the world, began the erection of the temple called Çakunikāvihāra in Bhṛgupura[1] for the good of his father's soul; but owing to the neighbourhood of the Narmadā, when the trench for testing the site was being dug, the ground suddenly closed and the workmen were injured;[2] then, as he was overpowered by compassion, he blamed himself severely, and leapt into the opening with his wife and children.[3] By that extraordinary courage of his that obstacle was removed, and the stones were laid and the whole temple was finished. On the occasion of the setting up of the finial and its rod, he brought there by invitation the congregations of the town,[4] and honoured them becomingly with complimentary offerings of food, clothes, and ornaments, and dismissed the neighbours[5] to their homes. Then, as a favourable moment was approaching, he induced the congregation of the glorious Aṇahillapura to come there, preceded by the venerable doctor Hemacandra, and accompanied by the king, and he gratified them with sincere proofs of his affection and goodwill, and with ornaments and other gifts, and proceeding to set up the flag, he himself caused his own house to be plundered by petitioners, and he set up a flag with a great banner on the temple of the holy Suvrata,[6] and in his excessive joy he celebrated a dance there with great zeal. At the end of it, by the king's request he took a candlestick to wave before the image,[7] and gave a horse to the reverend man who kept the

[1] i.q. Baroach.
[2] P and *a* give *chāditeṣu*, covered.
[3] This is perhaps a closer parallel to the story of Curtius than that given by Professor Bendall on p. 481 of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1888.
[4] I find in P, *samastanagara°*, and in *a*, *samanagara°*. I have endeavoured to translate the reading in the printed text.
[5] P and *a* give *samanteṣu*.
[6] The twentieth Tīrthaṇkara.
[7] It appears from a communication made to the *Times of India*, of the 13th April, 1889, that the finials and the image are sometimes set up at the same time.
"The auspicious time has come, the signal is immediately given, and amidst a great din of tomtoming and squealing of pipes, the finials are dropped into position, and at the same moment the image is raised to its position on its high pedestal. Every one now presses forward, and crowds into the temple, to salute the newly-

door; and the king himself performed the ceremony of placing a *tilaka* on the image; and being assisted by seventy-two military chiefs, who waved chowries, and scattered flowers and performed other services, he gave a bracelet to the bard who then arrived, whereupon the king, seizing him in his arms, compelled him by force to put down the auspicious lamp, which he was waving in front of the image.

Then Āmrabhaṭa worshipped the feet of the holy teacher Suvrata, and honoured his co-religionists, and asked the king why he hurried on so the rite of waving the light.[1] Then the king said, "As a gambler, in the over-mastering excitement of gambling, stakes his head and other things, so you, if further implored by petitioners, through an over-mastering passion of generosity, would give away to them even your head." But the teacher Hemacandra said to him, "My heart has been so transported by your world-transcending pious conduct, that I have forgotten the vow of never praising men, which I have followed from my birth,—

What would be the use of the Kṛta age, if you were not present? Can that be the Kali age in which you are?
If you are born in the Kali age, let it be the Kali age! What need we the Kṛta?"

Having in these words expressed their admiration of Āmrabhaṭa's conduct, the teacher and the king[2] returned home.

When the lord Hemacandra reached home, a farewell letter came from Āmrabhaṭa, who had been reduced to a state of extreme exhaustion by a sudden illness produced by a goddess. Hemacandra understood that, at the very moment when the great-hearted man was dancing on the spire of his temple, he was smitten with disease by the heretical goddesses.[3] Having come to this conclusion, the next morning the lord flew up[4] through the air with the ascetic Yaçaçcandra, and in the twinkling of an eye adorned with his presence the grounds in the neighbourhood of Bhṛgupura, and in order to propitiate Saindhavī he adopted the statuesque posture, but as she made him an object of contempt by putting out her tongue at him, he threw grains of rice into a mortar, and the Gaṇin Yaçaçcandra pounded them with a pestle; then, at the first blow of the pestle, the temple shook; at the second blow the image of the goddess

installed image, and presents are exchanged between the donor of the temple and his relatives and those who took part in the ceremonies."

The above is from the pen of Mr. A. Cousens, and my attention was directed to it by Dr. Burgess.

[1] I read with α, *satvarārātrika*°.

[2] Here the Bühler MSS. give *kṣamāpatī*. P agrees with them.

[3] For "heretical gods" see Bühler, "A legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā," p. 9, lines 2-3. Perhaps the plural is used here to indicate respect.

[4] I read with α, *khecarayatyotpatya*. The reading of β, °*ātyatya* supports this.

came from its pedestal, and fell at the feet of the lord Hemacandra, exclaiming, "Deliver me, deliver me from the blows of the thunderbolt-bearer." Thus, having restrained by force of blameless science the deleterious influence of the heretical demons,[1] who were at the bottom of the whole illness, they went to the temple of Suvrata.

May the rays of the nails on the feet of the lord Suvrata protect us,
The bridges over the ocean of existence, the candles shooting up to guide travellers on the path of happiness,
The props that support the universe, the meteors rising to bewilder the views of opponents,
Moreover,[2] the things which alone perform the functions of a firm binding-post for the elephant of our mind!

Having worshipped with these praises the hermit Suvrata, and having refreshed Āmrabhaṭa with the bath of convalescence,[3] they returned home.

The king[4] placed the three finials of the king, the sovereign of Koŋkana, in three places, on the Caitya of the blessed Udayana, on the Çakunikā temple, and on the clock-house.

Here ends the story of Āmrabhaṭa, the grandfather of the king.

Then, on another occasion, the king, named[5] Kumārapāla, desiring to acquire learning, had the treatise of Kāmandaki on policy read to him for a time after dinner by a certain learned man, with the approbation of the minister Kapardin. They came to the couplet:—

The king is the mainstay of creatures like the rain-cloud,
For even, if the rain-cloud be somewhat wanting, it is possible to live, but not if the king be wanting in any respect.[6]

When the king heard this maxim, he said, "The king is compared to a cloud, using the word *aupamyā*." When Kumārapāla said this, all the courtiers made signs of approbation;[7] but the king observed that the minister Kapardin cast his face down to the ground; so afterwards he asked him the reason in private, and the minister said as follows: "Since

[1] I find in α, *vyantarīṇāṁ*, female demons. [2] I read *kiñcā°* with β.

[3] I presume that this is the *ghusl-i-shifā* of the Bāgh-o-Bahār.

[4] There is no nominative in the text. The reading *rājnaḥ* is supported by the MSS.

[5] Passages like this show that our author's work is a collection mainly of disjointed anecdotes.

[6] No. 3990 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He finds it in the Hitopadeça and the Çārŋgadharapaddhati. He translates Parjanya by "Regengott." But, when used by a Jaina, it means "cloud," as the Jainas are not allowed to say "The god rains."

[7] *Nyuñcanāni.*

your Majesty used yourself the word *aupamyā*, and the use of this word is contrary to all the grammars,[1] and since, nevertheless, the obsequious courtiers made signs of approbation,[2] it was for two reasons appropriate that I should cast my face down to the ground. Moreover, in accordance with a maxim that a world without a king is better than an ignorant king, an evil report will circulate in the countries of hostile sovereigns. Now in this sense the words *upameyaṁ*, *aupamyaṁ* and *upamā*, and so on, are correct." After that speech, the king, in order to comprehend the etymology of words, began the study of treatises, commencing with the alphabet, under a certain teacher, and in one year read three poems with their commentaries, and so gained the title of Vicāracaturmukha.[3]

Here ends the story of the studies of Kumārapāla, who was called Vicāracaturmukha.

On a certain occasion a poet, named Vicveçvara, came from Benares to Pattana, and arrived in the meeting of the literary coterie of the doctor Hemacandra. When the king Kumārapāla was present, he uttered in this meeting,—

May the cowherd Hemacandra protect you, bearing aloft his rug and stick—

Having said so much, he paused for a while, and the king looked at him angrily. Then he continued,—

Driving out to graze in the Jaina pasture the cattle of the six systems!

Having satisfied by this second verse of the couplet those present in the meeting, he gave Rāmacandra and the others a stanza to complete. The whole stanza ran as follows :—

Being in the midst of her female friends, surrounding her in the game of closing eyes,
She was rejected by them on this ground, "Her two clear eyes cannot be closed with two hands,
And she will be detected everywhere by the rays of light shooting forth from the moon of her face;"
Thus the maiden was rejected, weeping for her eyes and face, and blaming herself.

When the stanza was completed by the great minister Kapardin by supplying the line, "Thus the maiden was rejected, &c.," the poet

[1] P reads *sarvavyākaraṇeṣu apaprayoge paticchando°*, but α and β give *aprayoge ebhir°*. Hofrath Bühler thinks that, if we read *sati* for *pati*, or simply insert *sati*, P gives a good sense.

[2] Here α and β give *nyuñcane*.

[3] i.e. Brahmā of discrimination. This story is also found in the Kumārapālacarita. (Bühler, H.C. p. 82.)

thereupon threw his necklace, worth fifty thousand, on the neck of Kapardin, saying, "It is a line composed by Sarasvatī herself." Then the king, astonished at his cleverness, wished to retain him about his person, but he said,—

Karṇa has come to exist only in story; the city of Benares is scant of people;
The bay steeds of Hammīra neigh joyously in the quarter of Hari;[1]
This heart of mine is longing for the field of Prabhāsa,[2]
That hugs the salt water, which itself longs to embrace Sarasvatī.

When he had said this, being taken leave of by the king, and having been rewarded by him, he went to his destination.

One morning, early,[3] the minister Kapardin, after he had made his salutation, was asked, "What is this in your hand?" and he answered in the Prakrit language, "*Haraḍai*"[4] (a myrobalan). The lord Hemacandra said, "What! even nowadays?" Kapardin, with his well-known quickness, seeing the artful meaning of his question, said to him, "Not nowadays. How could it be so? The last letter has become first, and is lengthened by a *mātrā*." Hemacandra, with his eyes overflowing with tears of joy, praised Kapardin's cleverness in the presence of Rāmacandra and the other *paṇḍits*. They, not understanding the real meaning of it all, said, "Why is it so clever?" Hemacandra said, "In *Haraḍai* lurked the statement '*Hakāro raḍai*' (the letter Ha laments).[5] As soon as I said, 'What nowadays?' he, seeing the point of the question, answered, 'Not[6] nowadays,' because formerly the letter was read at the end of the alphabet, and so one might say, 'Ha laments?' but now it is placed under the same name at the beginning, and is lengthened by a *mātrā*."

Here ends the story of Haraḍai.

One day a certain paṇḍit asked if the word Urvaçī should be spelt with a palatal or a dental sibilant. Kapardin, while the lord Hemacandra was giving some decision, wrote on a piece of paper, "Urvaçī is derived from *Urūn açnute*[7] (she enters the wide ones)," and threw it into the lap of

[1] Probably Hari here means Çiva, and his quarter will be the north-east. Hammīra was king of Çākambharī.

[2] According to a gloss in *α*, Devapattana. Dr. Burgess (Kāṭhiawāḍ and Kach, p. 14) tells us that Prabhāsa Pattan or Somanātha is a famous shrine of the Çaiva form of Brahmanism.

[3] I omit the paragraph immediately preceding this.

[4] I find in *α* and P, *haraḍai vijñāpayāmāsa*.

[5] I find that Professor Pischel, on Hemacandra IV. 445, explains *raḍaṁtau* as "*weinend*." For *haraḍa* we should read with P, *haraḍai*. On line 1 of page 229 after *hakāro raḍai*, P inserts *asmābhir abhidadhe*.

[6] I read with *β*, *anena nedānīm*. P has *anena na idānīm*. There is clearly a misprint in the Bombay text.

[7] But P gives *ūrū çete*.

Hemacandra. On the strength of that evidence Hemacandra delivered to the paṇḍit an opinion that the word should be spelt with the palatal sibilant. Here ends the story of the word Urvaçī.

Then, on another occasion, a certain diplomatic agent of the king of the Sapādalakṣa country came into the court of king Kumārapāla, and was asked by him, "Is your master prosperous?" He, being groundlessly arrogant, and fancying himself to be learned, said, "He is called Viçvala, because he takes the whole world (*viçvaṁ lāti*) ; so what doubt is there that he will be victorious?" Then the honourable minister Kapardin, being put up to it by the king, said, "The root *çvala* or *çvalla* expresses quick going, consequently he is called Viçvala because he flies (*çvalati*) like a bird (*vi*)." When [1] the noble reported to the king of the Sapādalakṣa country that his name had been thus turned inside out, he assumed the name of Vigraharāja. The next year that very noble mentioned the name of Vigrahārāja in the presence of king Kumārapāla, whereupon the minister Kapardin explained it, "*Vigra* means 'deprived of a nose,' and he has reduced Çiva and Nārāyaṇa (*Harājau*) to this condition." When that king heard this, he immediately took the name of Kavibāndhava (friend of poets), being afraid that Kapardin would pick his name to pieces.

Then, on another occasion, the Yogaçāstra was being expounded in the presence of king Kumārapāla, and the fifteen objectionable commercial employments were being read out, and when the paṇḍit Udayacandra came to the line,—

*Dantakeçanakhāsthitvagromnāṁ grahaṇam ākare* [2]
(The taking in the mass of teeth, hair of the head, nails, bones, skin and hair of the body,)

the original text as the lord Hemacandra wrote it, he read the words °*romnāṁ* [3] *grahaṇam* over and over again. The lord Hemacandra asked him if there was anything wrong in the writing,[4] whereupon he said that the grammatical Sūtra, which directs that the parts of living creatures and of musical instruments should take the singular in Dvandva compounds, showed that the singular was appropriate in the case of parts of living creatures, thus adducing a special rule applicable to this particular case. Then he was praised by Hemacandra, by the king, and others.

Here ends the story of Udayacandra.

Then, once on a time, that royal hermit was eating sweetmeats composed

[1] For *ityevaṁ* P, α and β give *anantaraṁ*.
[2] Yogaçāstra (ed. Windisch), III. 105.
[3] But P, α and β give °*romṇo*, as in Windisch's edition of the Yogaçāstra.
[4] No doubt we should read, with α and P, *lipibhede*.

of flour, milk, cocoanuts and *ghī*.[1] Having reflected a little, he purified himself[2] by abstaining from all food, and thereupon asked the lord Hemacandra whether the eating of such sweetmeats was lawful. The lord answered him, "It is lawful for Brahmans and merchants, but not for a Kṣatriya who has taken a vow to abstain from all impure food, because it recalls to his mind the taste of meat." The king said, "Very good," and asked Hemacandra to prescribe a penance for the impure food that he had previously eaten. Hemacandra said, "Have thirty-two temples built, according to the number of your thirty-two teeth." The king did so.

In a period of time prescribed by the lord Hemacandra, a merchant named Kānha[3] came to Pattana from Vaṭapadraka to have set up an image of Mūlanāyaka[4] in his own temple, and so he left that image in the principal temple of the city, and went to fetch offerings, and when he came back with the offerings he found the door kept by the king's body-guard, and he could not obtain admittance. After some time had passed, the guards who kept the door, left it, but the time[5] for setting up the image had passed, so he entered the temple and clung to the feet of the lord Hemacandra, and wept, reproaching him. The lord, reflecting that the man's grief could not easily be removed in any other way, went out of the painted vestibule,[6] and seeing by the course of the asterisms that his auspicious moment had arisen in the heaven, said that these images which were caused to be set up by the astrologer in a moment fixed with reference to a clock,[7] would continue but for three years, whereas this image, if set up in the present moment, would last for a long time. The merchant had the image set up immediately, and what the lord had said turned out true. Here ends the story of the penance prescribed for eating unlawful food.

The king then asked that a penance might be prescribed for the offence, that he committed long ago in taking away the wealth belonging to a certain mouse, and so causing its death. Thereupon the lord Hemacandra caused to be built for the good of the mouse's soul, a temple called by its name.[8] Moreover, as a certain daughter-in-law of a merchant, whose relations, name, village, and connections he did not know, had, when he

[1] *Ghṛtapūra*. The word is used in the Pariçiṣṭaparvan (ed. Jacobi), XII. 158. It is also used by the Commentator on Uvāsaga Dasāo, I. 34. Dr. Hoernle translates it by "pastry fried in clarified butter." Indian sweetmeats are very substantial.

[2] I insert *pavitrībhūya* before *iti* from α and β. But P agrees with the printed text. Of course the *visarga* is found in these MSS at the end of °*parihāra*.

[3] Or Kānhaḍa according to α.

[4] A title of Ādinātha or Ṛṣabha (Dr. Burgess, Çatruñjaya and its Temples, p. 20).

[5] For the *kāle* of the text, P, α and β give *utsave*.

[6] *Raṅgamaṇḍapa*. (See Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 30.)

[7] *Ghaṭikā*. But α and β have *kūṭaghaṭikā*.

[8] i.e. Mūṣakavihāra. (Bühler, H.C. p. 41.)

had been fasting for three days on his journey, refreshed him with a dish of ground rice mixed with curds, out of gratitude for that kindness, the king founded in Pattana the Karamba temple, in order to increase her merit. Moreover, the Yūkāvihāra was founded on this wise. A certain undiscerning rich man in the Sapādalakṣa country had a louse made over to him by his wife, when she was brushing his hair. He took it in the palm of his hand, and abused it for causing him annoyance, and after a long time crushed it, and so killed it. The officer, whose business it was to see that no harm was done to living creatures,[1] being near him at the time, took him to Aṇahillapura and denounced him to the king. Consequently, in accordance with the decision of the lord Hemacandra, he was, by way of fine for that offence, deprived of all his wealth, and the Yūkāvihāra was built with it in that very place.

Here ends the story of the Yūkāvihāra.

Then in Stambhatīrtha,[2] in the general temple of the Sāligavasahikā, where the ceremony of the lord Hemacandra's consecration as a monk took place, the king restored in a magnificent way a decayed edifice,[3] and adorned it with an image made out of a precious stone.[4]

Here ends the story of the restoration of the lord Hemacandra's Dīkṣāvasahikā.

Then, in the temple called Kumāravihāra, in Someçvarapattana, the Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati was guilty of some offence,[5] and owing to the displeasure of the lord Hemacandra was deprived of his appointment. So he came to Aṇahillapura, and acquired great proficiency in the Ṣoḍhāvaçyaka, and paid court to Hemacandra. Once on a time he performed the concluding ceremony after a four months' abstinence,[6] and discharged the duty of worshipping the lord's feet, by the reverence of twelve movements, and then uttered this stanza,—

For four months near thy two feet, O lord,
I have performed this vow of abstaining from prepared food, to atone for
my sin,
Now, as I have rolled away evil by my own budding good conduct,
Let me, O chief of hermits, subsist on rice moistened with water.

[1] *Amārikāripañcakula.* This proves that *pañcakula* does not necessarily mean a revenue officer.

[2] i.q. Cambay.

[3] It was called the Dīkṣāvihāra. See Bühler, H.C. p. 41.

[4] P gives *ratnamayabimbā°*. Perhaps "adorned with jewels" would be a more correct translation.

[5] According to *a*, "against the Jaina religion" (*Jainadharme*).

[6] In Bühler's "Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā" the phrases "retreat" and "concluding ceremony" are used. The abstinence was partial in this case.

While he was making this petition the king came in, and observing that the lord was pleased, he showed Bṛhaspati the favour of restoring to him his appointment.

Here ends the story of the restoration of his appointment to the Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati.

One day, when the king was holding a general reception, he put this question to an old member of council named Aliŋga,[1] "Am I inferior or equal or superior to Siddharāja ?" Āliŋga begged that his answer might not be used against him, and then said, "Siddharāja had ninety-eight[2] virtues and two faults, whereas your Majesty has two virtues and ninety-eight faults." When Aliŋga had said this, the king, being disgusted with his faulty self, cast his eye towards his dagger.[3] But Āliŋga, discerning his intention, said to him, "Siddharāja's ninety-eight virtues were obscured by his cowardice in battle and his dissoluteness, whereas your faults, such as stinginess and so on, are neutralized by your two virtues, your valour in battle, and your habitual treatment of your neighbours' wives as sisters." This second speech of Āliŋga made the king regain his equanimity.

Here ends the story of Āliŋga.

Then, long ago, in the reign of Siddharāja, a Brahman, named Vāmarāçi, who was a rival of Hemacandra in the matter of learning, not being able to endure his establishment in a high position, composed this stanza about him,—

With shawl, on which crawls a series of hundreds of lakhs of lice, loosely floating,
With mouth full of evil smell from a perpetual accumulation of impurities on his teeth,
With continual snuffling utterance of words, from the obstruction of the bridge of his nose,
Here comes that Hemaḍa ascetic[4] with his bald head waggling.

When the lord Hemacandra heard this utterance of his, which was a bitter lampoon, he was very angry in his heart, and accordingly gave vent to this severe remark, "Paṇḍit, have you not read this grammatical rule,

[1] Probably the Āliŋga who was made *jyāyān pradhāna*, not the potter who received a grant.

[2] I read *aṣṭanavati* with α and β. The text has 96. However, 96 seems to be a favourite number with our author, as Vikramāditya conquered 96 rival kings, and Siddharāja praises the 96 royal virtues of the king of Mahārāṣṭra (pp. 6 and 178 of the printed text).

[3] I read with α and β, *kṣurikāyāṁ cakṣuḥ*. The text must mean, was about to drive his dagger into his eye.

[4] In the original, *Hemaḍa sevaḍa*. The latter word is clearly the modern Hindi *sevaḍā*, a Jaina ascetic. Both words seem to be formed in accordance with Hemacandra IV. 429 (*ed.* Pischel).

'The qualifying word precedes'? so henceforth you must say, 'That ascetic Hemaḍa.'" Then he made his servants beat him with the butt-end of their lances, and dismissed him. He also caused him to be deprived of his salary, on the ground that in the kingdom of Kumārapāla only bloodless execution was permitted. From that time forth he supported himself by picking up grains,[1] and remained in front of Hemacandra's *pauṣadha*-house. Hearing Anā and other royal ascetics reading the Yogaçāstra, he recited this verse with complete sincerity,—

Causing sorrow to those who without reason are terrible,
There rises up the nectar-speech of the glorious Yogaçāstra
Of that hermit, surrounded with a circle of snake-like ascetics,
In whose face was vomited forth the poison of abuse.

By this speech of Vāmarāçi, which was like a copious shower of nectar, the heat of Hemacandra's previous anger was extinguished, and he gave him a double salary.

Here ends the story of Vāmarāçi.

Then, once on a time, two bards living in the country of Surāṣṭra, who vied with one another in the art of composing *dūhās*, made an agreement that the one whose verses should be explained by the teacher Hemacandra, should pay the expenses incurred by the other, and they arrived in Aṇahillapura. Then one, meeting the lord Hemacandra, said,—

His face is filled with blessings, the chief of which are Fortune and Speech,
Those, with whom the eyes of the doctor Hemacandra are a little pleased, become learned.

Having said this, he remained near, and after the ceremony of waving lights in the Kumārapālavihāra was over, the king, intent on worship, remained a moment with the lord Hemacandra's hand on his back. At this moment the other bard entered, and uttered this couplet,—

Hemacandra, those whom your hand full of wonderful prosperity holds,
To them success is presented in such a way that faces are below their feet.

The king was inly astonished at this original utterance of the bard's, and made him repeat it again and again. When he had repeated it three times, the bard respectfully said, "Will you give me a lakh for each recital?"[2] Then the king caused three lakhs to be given to him.

Here ends the story of the two bards from Saurāṣṭra.

[1] *Kaṇabhikṣayā.* The word is used in the Pariçiṣṭaparvan (ed. Jacobi) III. 187.
[2] In α and β and P, the word *paṭhite* is repeated. This reading improves the sense, and I have adopted it.

Once on a time the great king Kumārapāla was appointed head of the congregation, and was about to make the pilgrimage to all the holy places, and the god's shrine had already set forth with great pomp. At this time he was informed by a couple of posts,[1] who came from a foreign country, that Karṇa, the king of Ḍāhala, was marching against him. His forehead was beaded with drops of perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, and blamed himself at the feet of the lord Hemacandra. Then, as that great danger had come upon the king, Hemacandra reflected a little and said, "In the twelfth watch from this time your mind will be relieved." Having said this, he dismissed the king; and while the king was in a state of bewilderment as to what step to take, a couple of posts arrived at the time fixed by Hemacandra, and informed him that Karṇa had gone to heaven.

The king flung away his betel and asked them how it happened. They informed him that Karṇa was making a march at night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain, that he wore on his neck,[2] caught in a banyan-tree, and hanged him, and so he died. They added that they started immediately after his funeral. When the king heard this from the two runners, he went immediately to the *pauṣadha*-house of Hemacandra, and began to praise him. But Hemacandra prevented him, though with some difficulty.[3] Then the king travelled on with seventy-two great officers and the whole congregation, Hemacandra acting as guide on their road in two senses, and reached the city of Dhundukka, and the king, wishing to preach the faith in the "cradle-temple" seventeen cubits in height, which he himself had caused to be built on the site of the house in which the lord Hemacandra was born, and seeing that trouble had arisen from the Brahmans, who are naturally treacherous, banished them from the country, and in the course of worshipping the holy place of Çatruñjaya, he proceeded to go through the series of meditations, called the "destroyer of pain" and the "destroyer of works." While he was engaged in the religious service of making various petitions in the presence of the god, he heard a bard uttering these lines,—

> The lord gives the joy of success for the sake of one flower,
> As this is certain, do not on any account neglect the excellent Jina.

As he uttered it nine times, the king gave him nine thousand.

Then he went into the neighbourhood of Ujjayanta, and while he was

[1] *Yugalikā.* In India, even now the *dāk*-runners travel in couples.
[2] More literally, "that hugged the surface of his neck."
[3] I read *apy°* for *ity°* with α, β and P.

there, the mountain suddenly began to tremble, and Hemacandra said to the king, "There is a tradition handed down by old men[1] that this umbrella-rock will fall upon two men possessing merit coming under it at the same time. Now you and I are both possessors of merit, and whether the saying prove true or false,[2] in either case there will be a scandal among the people. So let the king worship the god; I will not!" When the lord Hemacandra said this, the king persuaded him over by his entreaties, and sent him on with the congregation; but he himself avoided the way by the umbrella-rock, and commissioned Vāgbhaṭa to make a new road on the other side, where there was a broken-down rampart. On the two sides of the road there were spent sixty-three lakhs.

Here ends the story of the pilgrimage to holy places.

Once on a time the king was desirous of making gold, in order to free the earth from debt, and for that purpose, by the advice of Hemacandra, his teacher, the preceptor Devacandra,[3] who was at that time engaged in a difficult vow, was summoned by letters from the king and the congregation. Thinking that some important interest of the congregation was involved, Devacandra, in the course of his religious tour, without being recognized by any one on the road, came to his own *pauṣadha*-house. But the king, who was making preparations to go out to meet him, and show him honour in other ways, having been informed by Hemacandra, came there. Then the lord Hemacandra, accompanied by all the Jaina laymen with the king at their head, worshipped the teacher with the reverence of twelve movements. After the ceremony of worship was over, they listened to his preaching, and at the termination of his sermon, he asked what the business of the congregation was, on account of which he had been summoned. Then Hemacandra and the king dismissed the meeting, and being concealed by a curtain, fell at the feet of the teacher, and asked him to show them how to make gold. Hemacandra said, "When I was a boy, a lump of copper, having been smeared with the juice of a creeper begged from a female wood-carrier,[4] had fire applied to it under your instructions and became gold. Tell us the name of that creeper and its characteristics, and other necessary particulars connected with it." When Hemacandra said this, his teacher, boiling with anger, flung him far from him and said,

[1] For *vṛddhaparamparayā*, P, α and β give *vṛddhaparamparā*. *Çīlā* is a misprint for *çilā*.

[2] P, α and β omit *asatyā*, but I have followed the printed text. The reading of the MSS. means, "If the saying prove true, the people will speak evil of us."

[3] I have translated *ÇrīDevacandrācāryāḥ* which is found in α after *tadguravaḥ*. It may be a gloss, but it makes the narrative clearer.

[4] It is clear that *yācitaḥ* is wrong. The Visarga should be deleted. It is not found in P or α. The latter MS. gives *kāṣṭhabhāravāhakāt*, from a (male) bearer of a load of wood. P has °*vāhakāt* (*sic*) *yācitavallī*.

"You are not qualified to receive this knowledge. First I bestowed on you knowledge, which was like a decoction of pulse, and even that gave you indigestion, so how can I give to you, whose concoctive fire is so weak, a knowledge that resembles sweetmeats?" When he had in these words refused Hemacandra, he said to the king, "You have not that good fortune, which would enable you to acquire the science of producing gold in such a way as to free the whole world from debt. Moreover, by forbidding the killing of living creatures, and by adorning the earth with images of the Jina, and other meritorious acts, you have gained both worlds, so what more do you desire?" When he had said this, he resumed his religious tour as before.

Once on a time the king asked the lord Hemacandra to give him an account of his former existence. The lord told the king all about it.

Then, once on a time, the king made ready an army against the Sapādalakṣa country, and he appointed the younger brother of Vāgbhaṭa, the minister named Bāhaḍa, though he was stained with the fault of reckless munificence, general of it, after giving him many admonitions. He, after he had made two marches, seeing that a large number of petitioners had assembled, asked the superintendent of the army chest for a lakh of money, and when he, in accordance with the king's order, refused to give it, the general struck him a blow with a whip, and expelled him from the camp. Then he himself satisfied[1] with gifts all the petitioners at his own good pleasure, and mounting on fourteen hundred female camels twice as many picked warriors, he advanced with them, and after a few marches he invested the ramparts of the city of Bamberā. Then, hearing from the people of the town that on the very night of his arrival the marriage ceremonies of seven hundred maidens had begun, he kept quiet during that night on account of these marriages, and the next morning[2] he overturned the rampart. There he captured seven crores of gold pieces, and also eleven thousand mares, and he sent off by very swift confidential messengers[3] to the king a report full of this acquisition of wealth.

He himself returned, after he had established in that country the authority of king Kumārapāla, and appointed officers. He entered Pattana, and repaired to the king's palace, and bowed before him. The king, when the suitable time had arrived for conversing with him, though he was won over by his good qualities, said to him, "Your munificence is a great fault; you are excellent in collecting means of transport and armies; but you have more near to you still a protecting charm, the accomplishment of the task assigned to you; otherwise you would be ripped up on

[1] Of course we should read *prīṇitār°* with *α* and *β*.
[2] I read *prātaḥ* with P, *α* and *β*.
[3] Here the word *cara* is used, which ordinarily means "spy."

account of the fault of your eyes in taking such lofty aims; the expenditure in which you indulge, even I am not able to compass." When he heard this remark of the king's, he replied, "Your Majesty speaks the truth in this; you are not able to indulge in the expenditure which I allow myself, because you are not a king's son by immediate descent, while I am a king's son;[1] therefore I expend money more liberally." By saying this he gained the reputation of priceless worth, on the ground that, whether the king were pleased or angry, a touchstone at close quarters acquires the splendour of gold. Then he was dismissed by the king and went to his own place.

Here ends the story of Bāhaḍa the king's whetstone.

Then his younger brother, named Solāka, the governor of a province, bore the title of "the Almshouse."

Then, once on a time, the son of the king's mother's sister, named Ānāka, on whom, being pleased with the excellence of his service, the king had bestowed the post of military commander,[2] but who still continued to be in attendance, as before, came into the presence of the king, as he was reclining on a sofa in the moonlight hall, during a certain mid-day period of relaxation. Suddenly a certain servant arrived there, and the king, seeing him, said, "Who is this?" Ānāka perceived that he was his own servant, and on his making a signal to him, went with him outside the palace. Ānāka asked the servant how things were going on in his house,[3] and then the servant demanded a present for announcing the good news of the birth of a son. Ānāka said, "Yes,"[4] and dismissing the servant, the lotus of whose countenance was illuminated with that intelligence, as if with the brightness of the sun, he returned to his own duty. The king inquired, "What is it all about?" Anāka answered, "A son has been born to your Majesty." The king thought over the matter in silence for some time, and then said openly to him, "This child, in order to announce whose birth this servant penetrated in here,[5] without being interfered with by the doorkeepers,—on account, I say, of so great an accumulation of merit, this child will be a king in Gujarāt, but not in this city, nor in this palace. Because you were called away from this place, before the birth of a son was announced to you, therefore he will not be lord over this city." Such was the decision of king Kumārapāla, the Brahmā of discrimination.

Here ends the story of Lavaṇaprasāda.

[1] We learn from p. 193 of the printed text that he was the adopted son of Siddharāja.
[2] *Sāmanta.*
[3] P and α have *svakauçalaṁ.*
[4] *Oṁ iti.* These words are omitted by P, α and β.
[5] Here α and β have *imāṁ bhuvam āpa*, which gives a good sense. P has *imāpa.*

In eighteen great provinces that owned his sway, having with due care
For fourteen years turned back by his might the flowing tide of the slaughter of living beings,
And also having set up temples fourteen hundred in number, like so many pillars of victory,
The Jaina king Kumārapāla wrought out the destruction of his own sin.

Then, once on a time, the disease of leprosy afflicted the lord Hemacandra,[1] because, owing to the curse of the very virtuous mother of Lakṣarāja the king of Kaccha, it was handed down to all the descendants of Mūlarāja and in consequence of this transmission it came to pass that, as, at the time of Kumārapāla's taking upon himself the duties of a householder, he wished to devolve the burden of the kingdom upon Hemacandra, the disease of leprosy penetrated into the sage by that opening. Grief on that account seized the king and the courtiers, but the lord Hemacandra, perceiving by meditation that his constitution still possessed strength, easily eradicated it by practising asceticism consisting of eight branches.[2]

On one occasion the king was astonished at seeing a certain ascetic seated on a plantain-leaf, so the lord Hemacandra seated himself in the air, four inches above the ground, and then showed the king a mass of brightness issuing from the suture in the crown of his head. Then, at the end of a life of eighty-four years, having fixed the day of his death, he began his last act of faith, with total abstinence from food. The king was upset with grief on that account, but Hemacandra thus admonished him, "You have six months more of life left to you, and as you have no son, you must perform your own funeral obsequies while you are alive." Then he yielded up his breath by the tenth aperture.[3] Immediately the lord Hemacandra was burnt, and then the king worshipped his ashes, by using them to make a mark on his forehead, knowing them to be of purifying efficacy. Then all the chieftains, and after them the people of the town, took the clay of the burning-place, and the place began to be known by the name of Hemakhaṇḍa,[4] which it still retains. Then the king's eyes were dimmed

[1] P, α and β omit *sa vyādhiḥ kumārapāle bādhām adhāt*. I have omitted them also, as they seem to me to interfere with the sense. The word *tu* is omitted in α and β but not in P. As the kingdom was made over to Hemacandra, he became one of Mūlarāja's successors.

[2] These are enumerated by Monier-Williams s.v. *yoga*. They are 1, *yama*, forbearance; 2, *niyama*, religious observances; 3, *āsana*, postures; 4, *prāṇāyāma*, regulation of the breath; 5, *pratyāhāra*, restraint of the senses; 6, *dhāraṇā*, steadying of the mind; 7, *dhyāna*, contemplation; 8, *samādhi*, profound meditation.

[3] The imaginary aperture in the crown of the head mentioned above. It is called the Brahmarandra.

[4] Hema's part or portion. *Hemakhaḍu*, the reading of β (actually *Hemaṣaḍu*), would mean Hema's burning-place. P also has *Hemaṣaḍu*.

with tears, and his mind was bewildered with grief [1] for Hemacandra, and when the ministers remonstrated with him, he said this: "I do not lament for the lord Hemacandra, who by his merit has obtained the most excellent worlds, but for my own sevenfold [2] kingdom, which is altogether to be avoided as it is tainted with the impurity of the king's food, since my water did not touch the body of the teacher of the world [3]; it is for that that I grieve." In such words he kept recalling the virtues of the lord Hemacandra, and after weeping for a very long time, on the very day mentioned by the teacher he died by a death of deep spiritual abstraction,[4] in the way taught by him, and adorned the heavenly world.

Kumārapāladeva reigned for thirty-one years from V.S. 1199. In V.S. 1230 Ajayadeva was set on the throne. When he began to destroy the temples set up by his predecessor,[5] a jester named Sīla [6] began a religious ceremony in the king's presence, and in the middle of it pretended to be ill, and made over the five gods' shrines that he had made in it to his sons, admonishing them that after his death they were to be worshipped with extreme devotion. Then, while he was feigning to be in a moribund condition, hearing that his younger son had quickly destroyed them, he said, "Why even His Majesty Ajayadeva did not destroy his father's religious edifices, until [7] his father had gone to the next world, but you are the lowest of the low, for you destroy mine while I am still alive." That talk of the jester made the king ashamed of himself, and he desisted from that impropriety. Subsequently king Ajayadeva entreated the minister Kapardin most earnestly to fill [8] the post of prime minister, but he said, "To-morrow morning I will take the omens, and if they are favourable to the step, I will carry out the king's command." Having said this, he went to the omen-house, and having obtained the sevenfold omen of the goddess Durgā, that he asked for, he worshipped that omen with flowers and whole grain, and thinking that he had gained all he wished, when he arrived within [9] the gate of the city, he saw a bull bellowing in the north-east quarter, and so he reached his house in an exceedingly cheerful frame

[1] But I find in P *viplavamānaḥ*, which might mean "being distracted"; α has *viplavamanāḥ*, β apparently *viklavamanāḥ*, which gives a good sense.

[2] The seven constituent parts of a kingdom are the king, his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army and treasury.

[3] There is an allusion to the water offered to the manes. Apparently the king means to say that he ought to have died before Hemacandra.

[4] *Samādhimaraṇena*. See Hoernle, Uvāsaga Dasāo, p. 62.

[5] P reads *pūrvajaprāsādān*.

[6] A jester named Sīlana is mentioned on p. 184 of the printed text. Here α has Sīlavaṇa; β, Sīlaṇa; P supports the printed text.

[7] It is clear from the MSS. that °*āntaraṁ* is a misprint for °*ānantaraṁ*.

[8] I think that this is an instance of the peculiar use of the word *dā*, which our author affects.

[9] But P gives *gopurānte*, near the gate.

of mind. After his meal an astrologer,[1] named Maruvṛddha, asked him the nature of the omens that he had seen. Then Kapardin told him their nature, and spoke well of them. Then Maruvṛddha quoted the following lines:—

"In crossing a river, in difficulties, on a journey, and also when peril is approaching,
In the business of a woman, in war, in disease, the contrary is praised.

In accordance with the doctrine laid down in these lines, you, as calamity is approaching, owing to a mental delusion, think favourable what is really unfavourable. As for that bull which you supposed to be so auspicious, he, seeing that Çiva would be exalted by your overthrow, and being the bull, his vehicle,[2] bellowed." Showing in this way his low estimate of what the minister said, Maruvṛddha took leave of him, and went to bathe in holy waters,[3] while Kapardin accepted the seal that the king was pleased to bestow on him, and returned to his own house with great pomp, and after resting there he was arrested by the king in the night, and his colleagues began to insult him.

That lion which used to plant his paw on the forehead of mighty elephants,
And scatter their pearls, now, owing to the might of destiny, endures the contumely of jackals.

Such were his thoughts. Then at the time of being cast into the cauldron, that wise man uttered his last stanza:—

To petititioners I have given away crores of gold red as flame,
In disputes with opponents I have put forth speeches full of the meaning of the Scriptures,
I have played with kings rooted up and planted in, as if with chessmen,
I have done my duty; if fate also appears as a petitioner, for him I am ready.

Even while repeating it, he was put to death in that very way.

Here ends the story of the great Kapardin.

But then Rāmacandra, the author of a hundred works, being placed by that low villain of a king on a heated plate of copper, uttered this couplet:—

[1] I have here translated *yāmika* as "astrologer," though the word generally means "watchman." On page 254 of the printed text Maruvṛddha is called a *çākunika*.

[2] I read with α and β *tadvāhanokṣā* for *tadvad āhāta ukṣā*. P has *tadvāhatokṣā*.

[3] I read *tīrthānyavagāḍhuṁ* with α and β. P has *tārthānyavagāḍhu* (*sic*). The reading in the printed text seems to mean "went to plunge into his business." But the pronouns are used in a very confusing way.

The setting of that sun, by whom to the whole surface of the earth, animate and inanimate,
Glory was largely bestowed, has to be and will be for long.

Having said this, he bit through his tongue with the edge of his teeth, and died. Thus he was put to death.

Here ends the story of Rāmacandra.

Then the renowned Āmrabhaṭa, the king's grandfather, was in the company of various [1] military officers, who, being envious of his glory, and thinking that they had now obtained an occasion against him, urged him to prostrate himself before the king, and reproached him for not doing so, but he said, "In this birth I do obeisance to him who is without passion [2] as a god, to the sage Hemacandra as a teacher, and to Kumārapāla as a master." When that hero, whose seven bodily elements were perfumed by the Jaina religion, said this, the king was angry, and said, "Prepare for battle." Having heard that speech of the king's, he worshipped the image of the Jina, and undertook a fast, and accepted consecration for battle, and sweeping away from his own mansion the retainers of the king, like a heap of chaff, with the wind of his own soldiers, he penetrated as far as the clock-house, and washed away in the holy bath of the edge of the sword the defilement contracted by contact with those impure ones, and passed into existence as a god, being emulously chosen by the Apsarases, who came to behold that wondrous sight.[3]

It is better to be a bard, better even to be a debauchee [4] for the sake of money,
Better to be a teacher of dancing-girls, better even to be skilled in great treachery,
Now that, by appointment of Fate, the son of Udayana, a sea of munificence,
Is gone to heaven, it will not do at all for sensible men to become learned on the circle of the earth.
In three years, in three months, in three fortnights, in three days,
A man eats the fruit of very great merit and sin even in this world.

[1] P gives *sāmantaistaiḥ samaṁ taistaiḥ samaṁ; α* gives *sāmantaiḥ staiḥ samaṁ; β, sāmantaiḥ sama.* I read *sāmantaistaistaiḥ samaṁ.*

[2] Probably Mahāvīra or Varddhamāna, the last Tīrthaṅkara.

[3] Hofrath Bühler in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI. p. 186, tells us that Ajayapāla was called the "ardent devotee of Çiva," in allusion to the reaction against Jainism which took place during his reign. It appears that the Jaina party favoured Pratāpamalla as Kūmārapāla's successor. (Bühler, H.C. pp. 50, 51.)

[4] A gloss in *α* explains *khiṅgair°* by *bhaṇḍair.* I have given the meaning assigned to the word in the Abridged Petersburg Dictionary.

In accordance with this doctrine, laid down in the Purāṇas,[1] that wicked king, the sinner against religious edifices, was stabbed with a knife by a doorkeeper named Vayajaladeva, and being devoured by worms, and suffering the tortures of hell every day,[2] he passed into the invisible world. Ajayadeva ruled for three years, beginning from V.S. 1230. Bālamūladeva ruled for two years, beginning from V.S. 1233. His mother, queen Nāïki, the daughter of king Paramarddin, taking her son in her lap,[3] fought at a *ghāt* named Gāḍarāraghaṭṭa, and conquered the king of the Mlecchas,[4] by the aid of a mass of rain-clouds, that came out of season attracted by her virtue. Bhīmadeva reigned for sixty-three years, beginning from V.S. 1235. While this king was reigning, the king of Mālava, named Sohaḍa, advanced to the border of Gujarāt, with the intention of devastating that country, but the minister of Bhīmadeva went to meet him, and addressed this couplet to him,—

Thy blaze of might, O sun of kings, gleams in the eastern quarter,
But it will be extinguished, when thou shalt descend into the western region.[5]

When Sohaḍa heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister, he turned back again. Subsequently his son, named the glorious Arjunadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarāt.[6] The vicegerent of Bhīmadeva, famous under the title of Vyāghrapallīya, the son of Ānāka, Lavaṇasāhaprasāda, ruled for a long time.[7] His son was Vīradhavala, who was white with the weight of sovereignty. His mother Madanarājñī, when her sister, who was married to the Paṭṭakila[8] named Devarāja, died, hearing that the weight[9] of his grief was great and intolerable, in order to help him to bear it, left her husband, named Lavaṇaprasāda, and went with her son Vīradhavala to his house. He made her his wife, as her

[1] I read *Purāṇoktaprāmāṇyāt°* with α and β. But Professor Leumann points out that the stanza is No. 2642 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, and is found in the Hitopadeça.

[2] The reading of α and β *pratyakṣaṁ* means "suffering visibly," which gives an antithesis. P, α and β give *parokṣaṁ* for *parokṣatāṁ*.

[3] P has *utsaṅge çiçuṁ sutaṁ nṛpaṁ vidhāya*, having made her son a child in arms king.

[4] Forbes shows from Ferishta that this king was Muhammad Shahāb-ul-dīn Ghorī. This identification is accepted by Bühler, Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI. p. 187.

[5] I find in α, *avalambitaḥ*.

[6] See Chronology of India by C. Mabel Duff, p. 162.

[7] I read Vyāghrapallīya, as suggested by Bühler (Arisiṁha, p. 19). Bühler reads with α, *Lavaṇaprasādaç°*. The question of this vicegerent's position with regard to Bhīma is discussed at length by Bühler, l.c.

[8] This seems to be equivalent to the modern word *paṭel*.

[9] All the MSS. give *°vāraṁ*. (P has *āyadvāraṁ*, so too β; α has *ayadvāraṁ*.) It seems that *°bhāraṁ* would give a better sense. But *°vāraṁ* may mean "multitude, quantity, heap." The printed text seems to give *āpaddvāraṁ*.

qualities and her outward appearance were attractive. Lavaṇa, having ascertained that fact completely, went at night into Devarāja's house to kill him, and while, having concealed himself, he was looking [1] for an opportunity, Devarāja, who was sitting down to dinner, said again and again, "I will not eat without Vīradhavala," and, after he had by his pertinacity brought him, he ate with him off the same plate.[2] Suddenly he beheld his mortal enemy, like death incarnate in bodily form, and his face became black, but Lavaṇa said to him, "Do not be afraid, for it is true that I came here with the intention of killing you, but having actually seen with my own eyes your love for my son here, Vīradhavala, I have abandoned this fixed purpose of mine." When he had said this, he was entertained by him, and went home. Vīradhavala's brothers by other mothers,[3] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, Sāṇgaṇa, Cāmuṇḍarāja, and others, were famous on the surface of the earth on account of their valour. Then that Kṣatriya Vīradhavala, when his intellect began to develop a little, grew ashamed of that circumstance, and left Devarāja's house, and attended on his own father. He was distinguished for the virtues of courage, magnanimity, profundity, firmness, prudence, humility, tact, clemency, munificence, politeness, and other qualities of the kind, and thanks to his modesty, after he had gained possession of a certain territory overrun by enemies, he also had a certain stretch of land bestowed on him by his father. A Brahman councillor, of the name of Cāhaḍa, administered the weighty affairs of his kingdom, and he struck up a friendship with the minister Tejaḥpāla, the pearl of the Prāgvāṭa race, who formerly lived in the auspicious city of Pattana, and had at that time come where he was. Now the story of the birth of the minister Tejaḥpāla is as follows. Once on a time, in the august city of Pattana, on the occasion of an exposition, a certain very beautiful widow, named Kumāradevī, was looked at again and again by the reverend doctor Haribhadra, and so attracted [4] the attention of the minister Āçarāja,[5] who was present at the ceremony. After the congregation had been dismissed, the teacher, being questioned by the minister, said, "By a revelation of my favourite deity I foresee that the sun and moon will descend and be conceived in her, and therefore I looked at the marks on her body again and again." [6] The minister, having

[1] I read *nirīkṣate* with β.
[2] I find in α and β, *sthale*, which means that he ate in the same place. For *svāntakaṁ*, α and β have *sātaŋkaṁ*, with fear.
[3] I find in β, *aparapitṛkā*, brothers by another father. The reading of α too points to this, but the *t* looks like an *n*.
[4] For *ācakarṣa*, which is found in the printed text, the MSS. give *ātatāna*.
[5] Arisiṁha spells the name Açvarāja; he mentions that Kumāradevī, though attached to the Jaina faith, worshipped also the husband of Gaurī (Çiva). I find in β, Āçārāja.
[6] I repeat the word *bhūyo* with α and β.

thus ascertained the truth from the holy man, carried her off, and made her his wife. In course of time those two heavenly bodies descended and were conceived in her, as the two ministers, named Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, like two chiefs of the Jyotiṣka[1] gods. Then, one day, as king Vīradhavala was entreating him to undertake the burden of his affairs, he first entertained him and his wife in his own palace. Anupamā presented to the queen Jayatala her two camphor-scented earrings, and her camphor-scented necklace of one string, composed of pearls alternating with jewels set in gold.[2] Vīradhavala refused the minister's[3] proffered present, and made over to him his own business. He gave him a gift of five things connected with his business, and at the same time the following sentence on an inscribed leaf,[4] "Though angry with you, I promise you that I will give you back[5] all the wealth that you now have."

That man is really a minister and full of wisdom, who without taxation accumulates treasure,
Without killing defends the kingdom, and extends its territory without war.

The minister, whose mind was established in all the treatises of policy and the Upaniṣads, made his master prosper, and at the rising of the sun he used duly to worship the Jina with an offering suitable to the time, and then to do homage to his teacher, and present him with sandalwood[6] and camphor, and after honouring him with the reverence requiring twelve appropriate movements,[7] and making the renunciation suitable to the occasion, he used to repeat one new *çloka* to his teacher, and after this ceremony of repeating a *mantra*, he cooked and ate a fresh *rasavatī*.[8] After this meal, a devout Jaina layman, named Muñjāla, who was his private secretary, asked him in private, selecting a suitable occasion, "My lord, at the beginning of the day do you eat cold food or fresh food?" When his private secretary asked him this, he paid no attention to him on two or three occasions, thinking that he was a boor, but one day the minister flew into a passion and abused him, calling him "a cowherd." He maintained his equanimity, and said, "It must be one or the other."

[1] The Jyotiṣka gods dwell in the "moons, the suns, the Nakṣatras, and the hosts of stars." (Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras II., p. 226.)
[2] Or perhaps "beads of gold."
[3] The word *mantriṇaḥ* is omitted in α, but it is found in P.
[4] Here P has °*pātrāntarastha-bandha-pūrvakaṁ*, but α and β have °*patrāntarastha*°. I follow P, adopting *patrāntarastha*° : β has °*subandha*°.
[5] I read with α, β and P, *punareva dadāmi*.
[6] I read *candana* with α and β.
[7] Professor Leumann informs me that six are made during the first pronunciation of the formulas, and six during their repetition.
[8] According to Böhtlingk and Roth's Abridged Dictionary, this word denotes "curded milk with sugar and spices."

When he said this, the minister, astonished in his mind at the dexterity of his answer, said to him, "I have not grasped the hidden figurative meaning of your instruction, so, sage sir, let me know the real state of the case!" Then that eloquent man said, "As for that *rasavatī* abounding in moisture, which my lord eats fresh, as it is of the nature of merit in a previous state of existence, and is left over from another birth, I consider [1] it to be exceedingly cold. Moreover, in this I have only set forth the speech which my teacher commissioned me to transmit to you, but he is in a position to give a true decision in this matter, therefore set forward your foot [2] towards his dwelling." When the minister, named Tejaḥpāla, had received this answer from him, he went to the reverend doctor Vijayasena, the teacher of his family, and asked him the duty of a householder.[3] He taught him the duty of a householder from the seventh Aṇga, called the Upāsakadaçāḥ,[4] viz. the worship of the gods, the necessary duties, the giving of alms to Jaina ascetics, and so on, as set forth by the Jina; and from that day forth Tejaḥpāla began to perform various kinds of worship of the gods, and distribution of alms to Jaina ascetics, and other holy works. By laying aside a quarter of his income for the worship of the gods during three years, he produced the temple of Neminātha in the village of Bāülā, at a cost of thirty-six thousand pieces.[5]

Then, in the year 1277 V.S., the glorious Vastupāla, the great minister, the great poet, the younger Bhoja, the neck-ornament of the goddess of learning, began his great pilgrimage, in an auspicious time fixed by his teacher, having by him been solemnly consecrated [6] as head of the congregation. When the sending off of the god's portable shrine was being commenced, he heard in the southern quarter [7] the voice of the goddess Durgā. He himself investigated the matter to a certain extent, by the help of an interpreter of omens who understood such matters. He said, "Maruvṛddha, explain the omen." Maruvṛddha reflected that a sound was more important than a visible omen, and being asked about the occurrence of the omen, when they had taken the shrine out of the city [8] and placed it in the encampment, he said, "In danger of the road

[1] I read *manye* with α and β. P seems to have *manyo*.

[2] I read with α and β, *pādo*. P gives *pādau*.

[3] P is more full than the text, giving *gṛhidharmavidhiṁ*.

[4] In Jaina Prakrit "Uvāsagadasāo." It has been edited by Dr. Hoernle in the Bibliotheca Indica with a translation and notes.

[5] I have used the word "pieces" to translate *dravyeṇa*, as I do not know what coins are meant. P and α omit the word altogether.

[6] I read *tatkṛta*° for *tatkṛtya*° with α and β. Above α, β and P give *prārambhe* for *prārebhe*.

[7] The text, P and α give *dakṣiṇapathe*, on the right or southern path, but I find in β, *dakṣiṇapakṣe*, on the right side. It has been pointed out to me by Hofrath Bühler, that Durgādevī is applied by the natives of India to a small owl.

[8] I read *purādvahirāvāseṣu* with α, β, and P.

contrariety of omens is praised, and in distress of the kingdom; the case of danger on pilgrimages to holy places is similar. Send some clever man to the place where that Durgā became visible, and let the exact spot be pointed out." That was done, and the man brought the following report, "Where that portico [1] was being rebuilt, the goddess was sitting on the heap [2] numbered thirteen and a half." Then Maruvṛddha said, "The goddess told you that you should perform thirteen pilgrimages and a half." When he was again asked as to the meaning of the last half pilgrimage, he said, "On a matchlessly auspicious occasion like the present, it is not fitting to speak of that; when the suitable occasion presents itself, I will explain the whole matter." After Maruvṛddha had said this, the minister marched on with the whole worshipful congregation. Taking the conveyances altogether,[3] there were four thousand and five hundred of them. There were twenty-one thousand Çvetāmbaras, and three hundred Digambaras.[4] There were appointed to guard the congregation a thousand horsemen, and seven hundred riders on red she-camels, and four military officers of high rank were entrusted with the superintendence of the protection of the congregation. In this fashion, having traversed the road with the whole assemblage, he encamped in Pādaliptapura, which he had himself caused to be built [5] in the neighbourhood of Lalitasaras, which was adorned with a *caitya* of Mahāvīra. There he duly worshipped the holy places, and in the principal temple he set up a golden finial, and a couple of full-sized Jinas; in the holy bathing-place of the city of Çrīmoḍhera two figures adoring the *caitya* of the blessed Mahāvīra; in the Çakunikāvihāra, on both sides of the row of vestibules belonging to the chapels, a series of double courtyards; in the holy bathing-place of Satyapura [6] in front of the *caitya*, an arch of the value of silver, and cells suitable for the worshipful congregation, and chapels in memory of his seven sisters;[7] in the holy bathing-place of Nandīçvara, temples and a vestibule of Indra;

[1] I find in α, β, and P, *varaṇḍake* for the *varaṇḍaçabde* of the text. The text would probably mean, "Where that unhappy sound was being renewed."

[2] The reading of α in this passage looks like *thare*. P gives *thire*. Perhaps we should read *thare*, a heap, from the Marathi *thar*. I think that the reading of β also is meant for *thare*. I have translated accordingly.

[3] I find in P, α and β, *sarrasaṃkhyayā vāhanānām*.

[4] I find in P, α and β, *triçatī digvāsasām*.

[5] But it would appear from Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 33, that the lake of Lalitasaras was excavated by Vastupāla. If we read *kārita°* with β, it would follow that the *caitya* was constructed by Vastupāla. The correct name of the lake is Lalitāsaras, as given in β. See Bühler's Arisiṁha, l.c.

[6] Now called Sacor. (Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 33.) It belongs to Jodhpur in Rajputana. We read of a golden *toraṇa* as having been erected by Vastupāla. (Bühler's Arisiṁha, l.c.)

[7] I have translated *jāmisaptakasya*, which I find in P, α and β. The names of the seven sisters are given in Kīrtikaumudī (ed. Kāthavate, Appendix A, p. 12). I do not understand the *dhārmikasatyakasya* of the text

in the midst of them the statues of Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala mounted on elephants, and his own statue on horseback;[1] in the same place seven statues of his forefathers, and seven statues of spiritual guides; in a courtyard near, the statues of his two elder brothers the great ministers Mālavadeva and Lūṇiga in the attitude of worship; certain gate-towers,[2] the reservoir of Anupamā;[3] a vestibule and arch dedicated to the Yakṣa Kapardin, and many other pious constructions,[4] in honour of the Jaina faith. Then, for the construction of the Nandīçvara temple,[5] sixteen excellent pillars of Kaṇṭhelīya stone were being brought by water from the mountain,[6] and when they were being landed near Samudrakaṇṭha,[7] one pillar sank into the mud in such a way that, though diligently searched for, it was not recovered.[8] A pillar of a different kind of stone was substituted in its place, and the temple was fully completed according to the size designed. During the next year, owing to the changes produced by the tide of the sea, that very pillar, that was lost in the mud, became visible. When it was being transported to the temple by order of the minister, a man bearing disagreeable tidings came to inform the minister that the temple had split in two. Thereupon that minister gave him a golden tongue. When clever people asked, "What is the meaning of this?" he replied, "Henceforth men will manage somehow or other to get religious edifices built so strongly, that they will not come to an end even at the termination of a great age of the world. For this reason I gave him this complimentary present. This temple built up again from the foundation for the third time is sure to be greatly prosperous." Moreover, he caused to be built a large *pauṣadha*-house in Pālitāṇaka. Now, when the minister arrived with the worshipful congregation at the sacred Ujjayanta, he saw at the foot of the mountain the new embankment that had been caused to be made in Jalapura,[9] and in the middle of it the temple of Āçarāja, and also the matchless tank of Kumāradevī.[10] The servants asked him to enter the palace, but the minister inquired whether there was a fitting *pauṣadha*-house for the reverend religious teacher, or not, and hearing that it was in course of erection, he was afraid of transgressing the bounds of discipline, and remained with the religious

[1] See Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 32. An Indramaṇḍapa is mentioned on page 31.
[2] *Pratolīḥ.*
[3] Here there is a misprint in the Bombay text. I read Anupamā with P, α and β.
[4] *Dharmasthānāni*, i.e. temples; *upāçrayas*, *sadāvratas*, tanks, and so on. (Bühler's Arisiṁha, p. 29.)
[5] Called by Dr. Burgess in his "Temples of Çatruñjaya," Nandīçvara Dvīpa.
[6] Or "sanctifying mountain" (*pāvaka-parvatāt*) according to α and β.
[7] Here β gives *samudropakaṇṭhe*, near the sea.
[8] I find in α, *nopalabhyate*, and in β, *no labhyate*.
[9] I follow P, α and β in reading the short *u*. But perhaps the *jalapāre* of the text means "against an inundation."
[10] Wife of Āçarāja.

teacher in a camp which he had pitched outside. Next morning he ascended Ujjayanta, and worshipped the twin lotuses of the feet[1] of Nemināthа, and made a great proclamation of the faith in the holy bathing-place of Çatruñjayāvatāra, which he himself had caused to be made, and he did his duty to the excellent *caityas* of the three auspicious occasions,[2] by adoration and other ceremonies, and on the third day he descended, and found that in those two days the *pauṣadha*-house had been completed, and the minister and religious teacher were conducted there, and praised the edifice, and favoured those employed in building it with a complimentary present. In Pattana, in the field of Prabhāsa,[3] he prostrated himself before Candraprabha because he was powerful there, and on his own Aṣṭāpada[4] temple he placed, after due worship, a golden finial, and gave gifts to the people there to whom gifts ought to be given.[5] While thus engaged, he heard from the mouth of a righteous attendant of the god, who was more than a hundred and fifteen years old, the world-renowned story, how the teacher Hemacandra showed to king Kumārapāla the god Someçvara visibly manifested. He was astonished in his mind at that man's experience. Now, on the way, as he was returning, he forbade the giving of food to those who lived by carrying *liŋgas*, on account of their improper conduct. The doctor Jinadatta of Vāyaḍa heard of that insult, and supplied that charitable donation from the resources of his lay followers. Then the minister came to propitiate that religious body, and the doctor said to him,—

The religion gains depth by means of the bearers of the *liŋga*,
As a mine of jewels gains depth by being filled with caustic waters.
Since Jaina saints, even though alarmed, solicit for alms[6] the bearers of the *liŋga*,
Why is the respect shown to them blamed by righteous men afraid of rebirth?
Even those who carry pictures leave the land before these,
But disrespect to the *liŋga*-bearers, while they stay in the land, is inconsistent.
Those who show contempt in the world towards those who live by carrying *liŋgas*,
Those wicked men are tainted with the guilt of extirpating a religion.

[1] See Dr. Burgess in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. II. p. 355.
[2] The editor explains it thus, "The *caityas* in which an image of a Tīrthaŋkara is set up on the festivals of his birth, ordination and attainment of the rank of Kevalin."
[3] I find in α and β, *Candraprabhaprabhāsa*°.
[4] On page 308 of the printed text, Aṣṭāpada is spoken of as a *tīrtha*. Aṣṭāpada also means gold.
[5] But α and β have *devalokāya*, the attendants of the god; P is not quite clear.
[6] Here α has *anuvaṁdante*, β *anuvaṁdanti*, P *anuṁ vaṁdante*. This would mean "show honour to." I find in α and β *saṁvijñā* for *saṁvignā*.

And this is written in the Āvaçyakavandanāniryukti.

He, who, knowing for certain that the virtues of Tīrthakaras do not exist in their pictures,
Worships a picture, because it represents a Tīrthakara,[1] obtains great destruction of Karman.
If men worship a *linga* appointed by a Jina, there is great destruction of Karman,
Even if a man worships what is devoid of merit, it tends to spiritual purification.[2]

By these admonitions the mirror of the minister's righteousness was polished, and with a mind specially devoted to honouring religion, he returned to his own place.

Then his elder brother, the great minister, named Lūniga, when he was on the point of going to the next world, asked for religious expenditure on his account, saying, "You must make a fitting chapel in my name in the *vasahikā*[3] of Mount Abu." When he died, Vastupāla could not obtain the ground from the members of the society to which his brother belonged, and so he begged a new piece of ground from the king of Candrāvatī[4] near the *vasahikā* of Vimala,[5] and had built there the temple of Lūniga's *vasahikā*, which is the champion[6] *caitya* of the three worlds. There he erected an image of Neminātha, and then the minister invited from Jābālipura the famous minister Yaçovīra, who was skilled in determining the good and bad points of such edifices, and asked him to give an opinion on the character of the temple. Then Yaçovīra said to Çobhanadeva, the architect that made the temple, "In the painted vestibule the broad passage between the two statues is altogether inappropriate in the temple of a Tīrthankara, and is forbidden by the treatises on architecture: moreover, this arch over the door that leads into the inner cell of the temple, on account of the two lions on it, altogether disturbs the worship of the god: moreover, the hall of elephants, adorned[7] with the statues of ancestors, in the back part of the temple, is fatal to the long life of the man who had

[1] It appears from the MSS. that *tti* should be substituted for *vi*.
[2] Professor Leumann informs me that these two couplets are to be found in the Avaçyakaniryukti, XII. 31, 32.
[3] An aggregate of buildings, containing a temple and a monastery. (Bühler's H.C. p. 57.)
[4] This city lay south of Abu and was held by a member of the Paramāra family. (Bühler and Zachariæ's Navasāhasānkacarita, p. 37.)
[5] The thirteenth Tīrthankara.
[6] I presume that *çalākā-caitya* is to be explained on the analogy of *çalākāpuruṣa*. (See the commencement of Jacobi's preface to the Pariciṣtaparvan.)
[7] The grammar of the text seems to be defective. The three MSS., α, β and P, give °*yuta*°.

the temple built. That an intelligent architect should have committed these three irremediable faults is to be ascribed to the force of actions in a former life, that must produce their effect." When Yaçovīra had given this decision, he returned to the place from which he came. The couplets in his praise run as follows :—

Yaçovīra, this moon is the summit of the pearl-heap [1] of your glory ;
The spot in the moon is really the auspicious talisman to guard it.
Cyphers, Yaçovīra, empty in the middle, are of no value,
They acquire numerical value only when combined [2] with you.
Yaçovīra, when the Disposer writes your name on the moon,
He finds that the two first syllables cannot be contained in the sky.

Here end the accounts [3] of the pilgrimages to Çatruñjaya and other holy places.

Then Vastupāla was involved in a war with a merchant named Saïda [4] in Stambhatīrtha, and he summoned from Bhṛgupura a great champion named Çaŋkha, like the god of death,[5] to oppose Vastupāla. He encamped [6] on the shore of the sea, and seeing that the roads leading into the city were occupied in force by the enemy, and observing that the minds of the merchants clung to their ships, he sent forward heralds, and fixed with Vastupāla a day for the battle. While the army, consisting of four arms, was being made ready for battle, Vastupāla put forward a brave warrior named Lūṇapāla, of the family of Guḍa,[7] and he selected his opponent [8] in these words, " If I strike any one but Çaŋkha, I undertake to strike also the cow Kapilā," and exclaimed, "Where is Çaŋkha ?" Thereupon a soldier in the enemies' ranks answered, " I am Çaŋkha." So he struck him down,[9] and after him another in the very same way. He exclaimed, " What ! are there so many Çaŋkhas [10] because we are near to the sea ?" and was then challenged by the great champion Çaŋkha himself, who praised his prowess. While in the act of striking Çaŋkha with the point of his

[1] Here we have the oft-recurring fancy that glory is white.
[2] The literal meaning probably is " placed in front (i.e. to the right) by you." *Eka* also means " one."
[3] P and α give the plural, but β has *prabandhaḥ*.
[4] The Hindustani *sayyid*. Stambhatīrtha is Cambay, Bhṛgupura probably Baroach.
[5] But α and β have *bālakālarūpam*. P gives *bālarūpam ānītavān kāla*. Probably the author means to say that Çaŋkha was a younger god of death, a little less terrible than Yama himself.
[6] I read *dattanivāso* with P and α.
[7] He is called Bhuvanapāla of the family of Gula by Someçvara. (Kīrtikaumudī, V. 56.) P has Bhavanapāla ; α, Bhūṇapāla.
[8] P has *vāravaraṇikā ;* α, *vīravaraṇikā ;* β, *vīravarṇikā*. My translation is conjectural.
[9] P adds *ghātena*.
[10] *Çaŋkha* means shell. One is reminded of Douglas and Henry IV.

spear, he and his horse were killed by him with one blow. After that, Vastupāla clung to the field of battle, and, like [1] a lion's whelp, routed the army of Çaṇkha like a herd of elephants, and they fled in every direction. Thereupon the merchant named Saïda was killed. Subsequently, the minister caused the temple of Lūṇapāleçvara to be built on the spot where Lūṇapāla was slain.

Now, once on a time, the poet Someçvara wrote the following stanza:—

Your lake, O minister, full of sporting waves,[2] and moving Brahmany ducks,
Gleams with swans that have taken up your praises, and eddies to which swaying lotuses have given their hues,
With waters deep within, and fish fallen into the swallow of the tribes of restless herons,
And with songs [3] uttered by women reposing at ease beneath the row of trees growing on its bank.

The minister gave a gift of sixteen thousand *drammas* as a compliment to the poet. One day, Someçvaradeva arrived when the minister was troubled by anxious thoughts, and looking down on the ground, and recited the following verse appropriate to the occasion:—

I know why you look at this surface of the earth, with head bowed down with modesty,
Because you have heard the common saying of the good that you are the only benefactor of the world;
The fact is, Vastupāla, you ornament on the lotus-face of the goddess of speech, you are yourself
Looking over and over again for a way by which, in accordance with your wish, you may bring up Bali [4] from Hades.

The minister gave eight thousand by way of reward for this stanza.

Moreover, these three learned quarters of a couplet were being read:—

Karṇa gave his skin, Çibi his flesh, Jīmūtavāhana his life;
Dadhīci gave his bones;

Then the paṇḍit Jayadeva supplied this as a fourth quarter to complete the couplet:—

but Vastupāla gave wealth.

Uttering this, he received four thousand.

[1] *Ca* here means "like." This use has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht.
[2] *Prakrīḍadātis*°, the reading of $\beta$, gives a good sense, as *āti* is a water-bird.
[3] Cp. παιὰν δὲ λάμπει. (Sophocles, O.T. 186.)
[4] When Viṣṇu deprived Bali of heaven and earth, he left him Pātāla or the lower regions in consideration of his virtues. His golden age is still proverbial in India.

Moreover, when a distribution to the church was being made for the benefit of the Jaina doctors,[1] a certain poor Brahman received, on begging for it, a coverlet from Vastupāla's officers out of compassion; he then addressed this appropriate couplet to the minister :—

In one place cotton, in another place thread, here and there a cotton seed,
Prince, my coverlet is like the huts of the wives of your enemies.

By way of reward for this verse, the minister gave him fifteen thousand. Likewise a paṇḍit, named Bālacandra, said to the minister,—

Gaurī is in love with you, the bull feels respect for you, you are linked with good fortune,
You have shining virtues and a troop of prosperities, why, indeed, do we say much ?
Lord of ministers, as you are gifted with the accomplishments of Çiva, it certainly becomes you
Long to lift aloft the young moon; who except you possesses the power ?[2]

When he said this, the minister spent a thousand *drammas* on his appointment to the post of teacher.

Once on a time Ālima, the spiritual guide of Suratrāṇa,[3] the king of the Mlecchas, came here in order to go to the holy place Mecca, and Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala, hearing of his arrival, were eager to capture him, and asked the advice of the minister Tejaḥpāla. He gave them this answer,—

That success, which kings obtain by employing a hypocritical disguise of virtue,
Is tantamount to acquiring wealth by selling the body of one's mother.

By this advice drawn from moral treatises, he delivered Ālima from those two, as a goat from a couple of wolves, and after helping him with journey-money and other requisites, he sent him off to that holy place; and he returned after some years, and was again helped by the minister with clothes suitable for him, and other things; and when he reached his home, he forgot the merits of the holy place, and described Vastupāla only

[1] The words *sūrīṇāṁ darçanapratilābhanāvasare* are omitted in *a* and *β*. They seem to me to be a gloss.

[2] The minister is compared to Içvara, the lord, i.e. Çiva. Gaurī is Çiva's wife; the bull is his vehicle; "good fortune" also means "ashes"; in the word "troop" there is an allusion to the Gaṇas of Çiva; Bālacandra means "young moon"; and Çiva wears a crescent moon round his central eye.

[3] It is clear that Ālima represents the Urdu (or Arabic) '*ālim* and Suratrāṇa means Sulṭān.

to Suratrāṇa. That Suratrāṇa immediately wrote to Vastupāla in these terms, "You are ruler in my kingdom, and I am only your javelin-bearer, so you must always favour me with orders directing me what to do." As the great minister was every year solicited in this way by a friendly letter sent by Suratrāṇa, he, with the permission of that monarch, who thought himself fortunate in being able to oblige the minister, brought with infinite trouble from the quarry named Mammāṇa,[1] which was in his country, a statue of Ṛṣabha fit for a building within the circuit of Çatruñjaya. Even when this was being set up, owing to the wrath of Mūlanāyaka,[2] the mountain was struck by lightning. After that the god never granted an interview to the great minister, as long as he lived.

On a certain *parvan*,[3] the lady Anupamā was making at will an unequalled distribution of food to the hermits, and at that moment Vīradhavala came, being anxious about his affairs, and seeing the entrance crowded with members of the Çvetāmbara sect of Jainas,[4] his mind was filled with astonishment and he said to the minister, "Minister, why are these not always thus feasted like a favourite deity? If you are not rich enough to do it, let me bear half the expense. Or let it be all given out of my property always." The minister said, "I do not tell you because it would be troubling you without cause." When he had by these words proceeding from his moon-like mouth, cooled the flame of his patron's anger, he said, "What a little matter for my master is half the expense! Let all be borne by you." When he had said this, he blessed the cloth.[5]

On another occasion, when a distribution of food was being made to the Jaina hermits, and the holy men were pushing and struggling with one another, as Anupamā was bowing before them, a vessel of *ghī*, full of a great quantity of that kind of food, fell on her back, and the minister, Tejaḥpāla, seeing that, was very angry, but she consoled him, saying, "Owing to the favour of your master[6] my body has been anointed with clarified butter, that has fallen from the holy vessel of the hermits." The minister, astonished at the completeness of her religious charity, gave her a present of five things, and praised her with this appropriate couplet,—

[1] This is probably the same mine that we find on page 219 of the text. I have therefore adopted from α the reading *Mammāṇanāmnyāḥ*; P has *Mummāṇanāmnyāḥ*; β, *Munmāṇīnāmnāḥ* (*sic*).

[2] Ṛṣabha is called Mūlanāyaka. The cause of his wrath is not apparent to me.

[3] This term includes the full and change of the moon, and the eighth and fourteenth of each half month.

[4] I read *darçanena* with α and P.

[5] I suppose, the white garments of the Çvetāmbaras.

[6] This makes it clear that Vīradhavala had taken over the duty of providing for the Jaina hermits.

Charity accompanied by kind speeches, knowledge without pride, valour accompanied by patience,
And wealth accompanied by generosity, these four good things are difficult to obtain.[1]

In this way she often satisfied the strictest standard [2] of the grace of generosity. She was praised by the Jaina teachers with panegyrics like the following:—

Fortune is fickle, Çivā is wrathful, Çacī is disgraced by having many rivals,
Gaŋgā is always on the descent, Sarasvatī is all made of words, therefore Anupamā is unequalled.[3]

Then, on another occasion, when Vīradhavala and Lavaṇaprasāda were preparing for the battle at Pañcagrāma, the wife of Vīradhavala, queen Jayataladevī, came to her father Çobhanadeva, in order to make peace. He said to her, "Are you afraid of widowhood, that you try to patch up a peace?" She, willing to extol her husband Vīradhavala, who was the paragon of heroes, said, "I say this again and again because I am afraid of the destruction of my father's family; for, when that Vīradhavala is mounted on horseback, who is a warrior brave enough to abide him face to face?" When she had said this, she went away in a rage. Then, in the fury of that conflict, Vīradhavala, swooning with the pain of his wounds, adorned the surface of the earth,—

He, of terrible might, who on the battle-field of Pañcagrāma,
Fell, through the wounds which he received, from his horse, but not from his valour.

Thereupon, the host of warriors on the field of battle were a little disconcerted, but Lavaṇaprasāda cheered up all his army, exclaiming, "This is only one soldier down," and utterly defeated with absolute ease all his enemies. In this way the hero, splendid with the quality of courage, fell, through his ardent love of fighting, twenty-one times on the field, in front of his father. Then, when Vīradhavala's life was approaching its termination, Tejaḥpāla, who was on his way to a holy place,[4] in accordance with

[1] Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, 2755. It is found in the Praçnottararatnamālā and the Hitopadeça.

[2] Literally, "reached the line on the touchstone of," &c. Our author seems to use *avadāta* for *avadāna*.

[3] The word "Anupamā" means "unequalled." Lakṣmī or Fortune is the wife of Viṣṇu, Çivā of Çiva, Çacī of Indra: Sarasvatī or Vāṇī (which is used here) is the goddess of speech.

[4] But P and *a* have *prasthitasya*, which would imply that Vīradhavala was on his way to a holy place.

the proverb that what is given once is received back a hundred times, gave him the merits of his last birth. Afterwards, when that prince died, owing to his excessive popularity, 120 followers elected to burn themselves with his corpse.[1] After that, Tejaḥpāla set guards on the cemetery and prevented that eager desire of the people.

Other seasons come and go in succession,
But these two seasons have become perpetual,
Now that men are deprived of the hero Vīradhavala,
The rainy season in their two eyes, and in their heart the hot season of anguish.

Then the minister anointed, as king, Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavala.

Anupamādevī having died, the knot of grief swelled up in Tejaḥpāla, and could not be removed. Then the Jaina doctor Jayasena, a mighty man, came there and assuaged his sorrow, and Tejaḥpāla, when having partially recovered his self-command, he was a little ashamed of himself, was thus addressed by the doctor, "We have come on this particular occasion to behold your hypocrisy." Vastupāla asked the reverend teacher what this meant. He said, "When Tejaḥpāla was a boy, I asked for him from Dharaṇiga the hand of the maiden Anupamā in marriage, and the arrangement was then concluded. Afterwards he heard of the excessive plainness of that maiden, and in order to break off the engagement, he gave to the lord of the region, established by the Jina Candraprabha,[2] by way of an offering, an income of eight *drammas*. Now he is despondent on account of the knot of separation from her; of these two states which is genuine?" When Tejaḥpāla was thus reminded of the original state of affairs, he steeled his heart.

Then, on another occasion, when an assembly[3] was being held, the domestic chaplain Someçvaradeva, thinking that the minister Vastupāla, being of an advanced age, was desirous of proceeding to Çatruñjaya, came there, and though seats of surpassing dignity were vacated for him, he would not sit down, and when asked the reason, he said this,—

"Vastupāla has obstructed the earth with doles of food and drinking-fountains,[4]
And religious foundations, and with his glory the circle of the sky.

[1] This reminds us of the devotion of Otho's followers. (Tacitus, Hist. II. 49.)

[2] All the three MSS. that I have seen read °*bhiḍe*° for °*Jina*°. I think it is the Hindi *bhiḍ*, enclosure. *Kṣetrādhipati* probably means *genius loci*.

[3] I think that *avasara* here means a *darbār*.

[4] More literally, "drinkings of water." Probably, "doles of food" means buildings where food was distributed.

Therefore I cannot sit down, because there is no room left." The minister gave him a complimentary gift in return for this speech of his, and took leave of him and set out on his journey. In the village of Ākevālīyā, in a country hovel, he sat down on a bed of *darbha*-grass, and his spiritual adviser made him make confession of the faith, and so he abstained from all food, and having by his final act of faith washed away the pollution of the Kali age, he repeated the name of the Tīrthaŋkara Ṛṣabha with this couplet,—

I have done no good action worthy of being commemorated by the virtuous,
My only substantial merit has been aspiration; in this way my life has passed.

When he had ended this speech, he said, "Reverence to the Arhats!" and, with these syllables on his lips, he abandoned[1] his body composed of seven constituent elements, and adorned the heavenly world, in order to taste the fruit of his actions. In the place where he was burnt, the victorious lions, the two sons of his younger brother Tejaḥpāla, built the temple of the ascent to heaven, adorned with a statue of the Tīrthaŋkara Ṛṣabha, when consecrated for the vows.

To-day my father's hope has borne fruit,
The tip of the branch of my mother's blessing has budded to-day,
In that unweariedly I gratify
All the people that make pilgrimage to the shrine of Ṛṣabha.
Those men who do not extract merit from the sinfulness of kings' affairs,
Those men, I say, I consider to be much lower even than the washers of dust.

The above stanzas and many others are the actual composition of the great poet Vastupāla.

That Vīradhavala, full of kingly qualities, was a monarch of measureless might;
The poet Vastupāla had the title of Bhojarāja bestowed on him by learned men,
And Tejaḥpāla was a chief of ministers, matchless among crowds of counsellors;
His wife Anupamā, unequalled in good qualities, was an incarnate goddess of Fortune.

Here ends the fourth chapter in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi published by

[1] Perhaps it is necessary to read *parihṛtaṁ*. I have given what I suppose to be the sense.

the teacher Merutuṅga, called the description of the glory of the mighty men, the august Kumārapāla, and those paragons of ministers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.

## FIFTH CHAPTER.

Now I begin to describe in the ensuing miscellaneous chapter those actions of the great men previously spoken of, which remain over and above their deeds already related, and others in addition to those.

They are as follows :—

Of old there was in the city of Avantī, near which flashes the stream of Çiprā, a king named Vikramārka.[1] He heard that the people from other realms, whom he entertained in his guest-house, after they had taken their meal, fell asleep, and slept the long sleep of death. His mind was full of astonishment on that account, and being determined to investigate the matter, he caused the bodies of all of them to be covered with cloths, and by his royal order[2] provided that the occurrence should be kept quiet. He feasted some other travellers that arrived, exactly like their predecessors, and in the evening he brought warm water and oil to tend their feet, and as they dropped off to sleep, one by one, in the depth of the night, the king himself remained concealed, sword in hand. While he was waiting, he suddenly saw in a spot in the corner of the room, first smoke curling up, then a sheet of flame, then the serpent Çesha emerging, adorned with a thousand hoods, and having his hoods decked with glittering hood-gems.[3] While the king, astonished at that wonderful sight, was looking on with curiosity, that prince of hooded snakes asked all the travellers that had gone to sleep in the course of that day, one by one, "What vessel?" Then they answered, "The vessel of justice," "The vessel of virtue," "The vessel of asceticism," "The vessel of beauty," "The vessel of love," "The vessel of glory," and so on, and were all, on account of their ignorance, cursed at will by that serpent, and made to taste of death. When Vikrama saw that take place, he came in front of him, and putting his hands together in a suppliant attitude, said,—

Lord of snakes, there may be various kinds of vessels on the earth, owing
to associations with various qualities,
But the vessel of the mind is pre-eminent, if pure[4] and cleansed by faith.

[1] i.q. Vikramāditya. [2] I read *nijājñayā* with α and β.

[3] The reading of the text is not satisfactory. I prefer the reading of α and β, °*phaṇāratnaprabhālaṅkṛtaṁ sahasraphaṇaṁ nāgaṁ*, the serpent Çesha (or the thousand-hooded one), adorned with the splendour of glittering hood-gems.

[4] But P has *çuddhaçraddhāparitritaṁ*, cleansed by pure faith.

When Vikrama set forth Çesha's very thoughts in these words, Çesha being pleased with him, said, "Choose a boon." Thereupon he craved by way of a boon that Çesha would restore to life those dead travellers, and so pleased him very much.

Here ends the account of the trying of Vikramāditya by the vessel test.

Then, once on a time, in the city of Pāṭalīpura,[1] king Nanda, who was a source of great joy, suddenly died, and a certain Brahman came there at that time, and by the art of entering alien bodies, contrived to animate the king's corpse. A second Brahman, in accordance with an understanding that he had with him, came to the king's door and began the recitation[2] of the Veda. The reanimated king[3] made the superintendents of the treasury give him a crore of gold pieces. Then the prime minister, hearing of that circumstance, said, "Formerly Nanda used to be parsimonious, but now he displays generosity;" so he arrested that Brahman, and made search everywhere for a foreigner that knew the art of entering another body, and hearing that a corpse was being guarded somewhere by a certain person, he reduced the corpse to ashes, by placing it on the funeral pyre, and so by the unequalled vigour of his intellect he managed to carry on Nanda[4] as monarch in his[5] mighty kingdom as before.

Here ends the story of Nanda.

Then, in the great town of Kheḍa, the daughter of the Brahman Devāditya, an excellent woman, named Subhagā, who had become a widow in her childhood, and was exceedingly beautiful, was in the early morning throwing a handful of rice towards the sun, when suddenly, without being aware of it, she became pregnant by him. Her parents, finding out somehow or other that unbecoming state of affairs, told her that shame required that it should be concealed, and made their servants leave her in the neighbourhood of the city of Valabhī. She gave birth to a son there, and he, in course of time, grew big, and being taunted by the boys of his own age with having no father, he went to his mother to ask who his father was. She answered, "I do not know."[6] When she gave him this answer, he was on the point of committing suicide on account of his despair about that origin of his; but the sun appeared to him, and consoled him, and placed some pebbles in his hand, and informed him that he was the sun who had married his mother, and went on to say, "Any one of these pebbles hurled at a man that insults you will become a rock."

[1] I find in *a*, Pāṭalīputra, but P and *β* support the printed text.
[2] In *a* there is a stop after *udāharan*. Perhaps it should be *udāharat*.
[3] P, *a* and *β* omit *sa*.
[4] He is sometimes called Yogananda. The whole story will be found in my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, p. 21 and ff.
[5] *Nija* should be *nije*, as is evident from *a* and *β*.
[6] Cp. my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Vol. II. p. 622.

Then he gave him this warning, "If one is thrown at any innocent man, it will be the cause of calamity to you"; and with these words on his lips, he disappeared. Accordingly the boy killed in this very way some persons that insulted him, and so came to be known by the significant name of Çilāditya. The king of that town did so in order to test his power,[1] and he put that monarch to death with a rock so produced, and became himself king in his place. In the same way he obtained a horse by the favour of the sun, and roaming about on this at pleasure, like a Vidyādhara that can fly through the air, he conquered by his valour the circle of the quarters, and ruled for a long time. By association with a Jaina hermit there was produced in him the jewel of right belief, and having learnt the infinite greatness of the very holy place Çatruñjaya, he restored the dilapidated shrines on it. Once on a time a public disputation took place between the Buddhists and the Çvetāmbaras, and Çilāditya was made president of the court, and this condition was agreed upon, that whichever party should be vanquished in argument before a full court, should be banished from the country. The Çvetāmbaras were vanquished, and accordingly the Buddhists drove them all away from their country, but they overlooked the fact that a boy, named Malla, sister's son to king Çilāditya, who was of measureless excellence, remained there. They, for their part, thinking themselves victorious, worshipped Ṛṣabha the Mūlanāyaka,[2] as Buddha on the holy Vimala[3] mountain; but while they remained there triumphant, Malla, owing to his having been born in the warrior caste, never forgot his enmity, but being anxious to revenge the injury, remained studying with them, because he could not obtain teachers of the Jaina faith, and day and night his mind was fixed on that one object. During the days of terrible heat,[4] once on a time at night, when the eyes of all the citizens were closed in sleep, he was calling to mind with great application the treatise he had studied during the day, and at that moment Sarasvatī, who was roaming in the sky, asked him this question, "What things are sweet?" He looked round and saw no one from whom the voice could have proceeded, but he gave her this answer, "Grains of wheat."[5] Again, after the lapse of six months, the goddess of speech[6] returned at the very same time, and once more questioned him saying, "With what?" He then remembered his

[1] This seems to be the meaning. The word Çilāditya is, of course, derived from *çilā*, stone, and *āditya*, sun.

[2] Probably Mūlanāyaka means "the primeval guide," as being the first Tīrthaŋkara.

[3] i.e. Çatruñjaya.

[4] I read *bhīṣmagrīṣmavāsareṣu* with α and β. P agrees with the printed text. I find in the Errata, *grīṣma* for *bhīṣma*.

[5] Böhtlingk in his Abridged Dictionary gives "eine Weizenart" as the meaning of *valla*.

[6] P gives *vāgdevyā*.

former speech, and gave her this answer, "With molasses and *ghī*." She was astonished at his attentiveness and said, "Choose whatever boon you like." He said, "Bestow on me some logical treatise that will enable me to conquer the Buddhists." When he asked for this gift, she favoured him by bestowing on him the Nayacakra.[1] Accordingly, having learnt[2] the truth by the favour of the goddess, he asked the permission of king Çilāditya, and threw grass and water into the cells of the Buddhists. The agreement mentioned above was repeated, and in a court presided over by the king, Malla, by the help of Sarasvatī, who descended into his throat, quickly reduced the Buddhists to silence. Then by the order of the king, the Buddhists were banished[3] from the country, and the Jaina teachers were summoned, and Malla, having conquered the Buddhists, was considered a great disputant by his co-religionists. Subsequently, at the request of the king, his teacher, by way of reward, gave him the title of doctor.[4] Then the honourable doctor and disputant, Malla, being head of a Gaṇa, was, on account of his being a distinguished propagator of the faith, and in order that he might be still more exalted, appointed by the congregation to superintend the holy place of Stambhanaka,[5] which was discovered by the doctor Abhayadeva, who made the commentary on the nine Aṇgas.

Here ends the story of the disputant Malla.

Then, in the kingdom of Maru,[6] in a country village,[7] there lived two brothers, Kākū and Pātāka. The younger of these was rich, but the elder maintained himself by doing work as his brother's domestic servant. On a certain night in the rainy season, Kākū was sleeping, exhausted with his day's work, when he was thus addressed by his younger brother, "Brother, the dams in my fields have been broken through by the inundation, but you do not trouble your head about it." When he was reproached in these words, he immediately left his bed, and blaming himself, put a mattock on his shoulder and went to the place. But, when he reached it, he found some labourers engaged in repairing the dams that had burst. When he saw them he said, "Who are you?" They replied, "We are your brother's well-wishers." He asked them, "Have I well-wishers anywhere?" They answered, "Your well-wishers are in Valabhī." Then, on

[1] A Nayacakra is mentioned by Professor Leumann in his list of the Strassburg collection of Digambara MSS.

[2] I read with *a*, °*āvagatatattvaḥ*.

[3] I find in *a*, *tāḍiteṣu*. But the reading of P and *β*, which is that of the text, makes equally good sense.

[4] *Sūri*. The translation is probably inadequate.

[5] According to Bühler (on the Sukṛtasaṇkīrtana of Arisiṁha, p. 34, note), this place lay on the river Seḍhi or Ṣeḍhi, in the eastern part of the present collectorate of Kheḍā. It is not the same as Stambhatīrtha or Cambay.

[6] The modern Māḍwāḍ (Marwar). The word means desert.

[7] *Pallīgrāma*.

a favourable occasion, he packed all his goods in a box, and carrying it on his head he reached the august Valabhī, and lived near some cowherds in the vicinity of a gate of the town.[1] On account of his extreme leanness he was called by them Raṇka.[2] He made a hut of grass, and remained protected by that. In the meanwhile a certain pilgrim, in accordance with the prescriptions of a book of rules, brought a liquid elixir from the Raivataka mountain in a gourd, and as he was performing the journey, he heard a bodiless voice in the air,[3] "The gourd to Kākū!" His mind was full of astonishment and he was terrified, so he deposited the gourd of liquid elixir in the house of that disguised[4] merchant, feeling quite at ease in his mind because his name was Raṇka. He himself went on a pilgrimage to Someçvara. On a certain festival day Raṇka was placing a saucepan on the stove to cook a special dish, when he saw that, owing to a drop of the elixir falling upon it from a hole in the gourd, the saucepan had turned to gold. That merchant made up his mind that it was the elixir of the alchemist, and he immediately transferred all his furniture with that gourd to another place, and with a candle reduced his hut to ashes, and built a palace near another gate. While he was living there, he was himself weighing the *ghī* of a woman, who was selling a great deal of that article, when he found that it was inexhaustible. He discovered that there was underneath the vessel of *ghī* an astrological diagram with black signs on it,[5] so he managed to steal it, by substituting something else for it by trickery of some kind, and so made himself a master of the magical picture.

Once on a time, also, owing to the incalculable power of his good luck derived from good works in a former life, he obtained the magical image of the golden man.[6] In this way, by his three-fold magical power he acquired riches that might be said to be measured by crores; nevertheless, being the prince of misers, he never spent money on a worthy object, or a holy place, or an act of mercy. Far from it; on the contrary, owing to his desire to get the whole world into his clutches, he made that good fortune of his assume the form of a demon of destruction[7] to the whole

[1] Cp. the phrase *dhītā dvāravāsino*, quoted by Fick in his Sociale Gliederung (p. 196) from the fifth volume of the Jātakas, with Fick's remarks.

[2] i.e. beggar.

[3] According to some MSS. the voice proceeded from the elixir.

[4] I find *sa* inserted before *chadmano* in *a* and *β*, but *chadmino* would, I suppose, give a good sense.

[5] *Kṛṣṇa-citraka-kuṇḍalikāṁ.* I find that in Gujarātī the word *kuṇḍalī* means a figure divided into square, triangular, or circular spaces, drawn to exhibit the position of the sun, planets and constellations.

[6] The circumstance of Raṇka's obtaining a golden man is told by Alberuni (Sachau's translation, Vol. I. p. 192). Raṇka, according to this version of the story, was a fruitseller. He bought from a peasant a man turned into gold by the juice of a Lactaria from which blood flowed. According to this version, Raṇka remained in his old house, but bought by degrees the whole town in which he lived.

[7] *Kālarātrirūpām.* *Kālarātri* is the night of destruction at the end of the world,

universe. Then the king took away from Raŋka's daughter by force a comb studded with jewels [1] to give to his own daughter.

To gratify his spite against the king, Raŋka went himself into the kingdom of the Mlecchas, and gave the sovereign of that country as many crores of gold pieces as he asked for, in order that he might destroy Valabhī, and so induced him to march against the city. But a certain umbrella-bearer of the Mleccha king, whom he had omitted to fee, at the end of the night, when the king was half asleep and half awake, carried on the following conversation with a man with whom he had previously arranged matters, "Is there no man with any sense in our king's council, that this great monarch of the land of Açvapati [2] has undertaken this expedition against Çilāditya, the offspring of the sun, impelled thereto by a merchant whose family and character are unknown, whether he be good or bad, and who is a beggar both in name and actions?" When the king heard the umbrella-bearer's wholesome and true speech, reflecting a little in his mind, he made a halt on that day. Then Raŋka, who was apprehensive, having cleverly found out that circumstance, by giving that umbrella-bearer gold, satisfied his lust for gold, and so on the following morning at daybreak the umbrella-bearer said, "Whether with due consideration or not, this great king has been set in motion,[3] and has started on his expedition; on the principle of the lion's first step, he cuts a good figure on the march:—

Whether people call the lion lord of the deer, or enemy of the deer,
In either case he is ashamed, since with ease he tears elephants in pieces.

So who will dare to face this master of ours, whose might is boundless?" The king of the Mlecchas was filled with ardour by this speech of the umbrella-bearer, and continued his march, that deafened the hollow of the heaven with the roar of kettle-drums. Now at this juncture and on this day, the image of Candraprabha in Valabhī and the images of Ambā and the guardian of the country,[4] by the power of the deities that animated

often identified with Durgā. The words "good fortune" are used to represent Laksmi. Perhaps *sañjihīrsā* is used in a double sense—desire of accumulation and desire of destruction.

[1] Here *a* reads, *atha svasutāyāḥ ratnakhacitakaŋkasitāyām rājñaḥ sve sutāyāḥ kṛte prasabham upahṛtāyām*; β, *atha svasutāyā ratna khacitakaŋkatikāyām rājñā svasutākṛte saprabham upahṛtāyām*; P, *atha svasutāyā ratnakhacitakaŋkatikāyā rājñā svasutāyāḥ kṛte prasabham upahṛtāyā*.

[2] *Açvapati* means horse-lord. According to some MSS. there was "not even a mouse" in the king's council.

[3] I find *calitaḥ* in *a* and β, which means simply "has gone or marched out."

[4] *Kṣetrapāla.* Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 13) has an admirable note. He quotes Virgil, Aeneid, II. 351-2, and tells us that "the ancient nations had a habit of loading with chains the statues of their gods, when the state was menaced with danger, in order to prevent their flight. Among the Phœnicians, the god Melkarth was almost constantly chained." Fustel de Coulanges (Cité Antique, p. 179) translates from

them, flew through the air, and became the ornament of the region of Çivapattana; and the image of the glorious Vardhamāna, mounted on a chariot, by the power of the god that animated it, moved away unobserved on the full moon of the month Āçvina, and adorned the city of Çrīmāla. Moreover, other eminent images of gods went away, and adorned appropriate places. And when the goddess of that city was describing the portents to the holy sage Vardhamāna, the following conversation took place,—

Who art thou, fair one? Tell me, thou that resemblest a goddess, why dost thou weep?
Reverend sir, I see clearly the overthrow of the city of Valabhī.
Water, that[1] is obtained by the saints in alms, will turn into blood,
The hermits must abide in that place in which that blood shall turn into water.

While the portents described above were taking place, the Mleccha forces arrived[2] in the neighbourhood of the city.

Raŋka, who had defiled himself by bringing destruction on his country, had distributed in many places, by largesses of gold, players on five instruments,[3] and when the king, on the arrival of the Mleccha forces, was about to mount that flying horse, they all played on their instruments at once; whereupon that horse soared aloft like Garuḍa, and flew up into the heaven, and Çilāditya, being utterly at a loss as to what course to pursue, was killed by the Mlecchas. After that, they sacked the town with ease.[4]

Macrobius the form of prayer used by the Romans to induce the gods of any city that they were besieging to abandon it. Professor Leumann in his list of Digambara MSS. in the Strassburg University Library, translates *kṣetrapāla* by *genius loci*. Cp. Milton's line,

"The parting Genius is with sighing sent."

[1] I find *bharat*° in P, α and β, and adopt it.

[2] All the three MSS. read *prāpteṣu*. So there is a misprint in the text.

[3] The instruments are according to Pāṭhak (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII. p. 96) the *çṛŋga*, *tammaṭa*, *çaŋkha*, *bhēri* and *jayaghaṇṭā*. According to Growse, Indian Antiquary, Vol. V. p. 354, they are the *tantri* or *sitāra*, the *tāl*, the *jhānjh*, the *nakāra*, and fifthly the trumpet, fife, or other wind instrument. I owe these references to Hofrath Bühler. Below for *pratiçabda*°, β has *pacaçabda*, which may indicate the right reading *pañcaçabda*. I find, however, that Bühler (H.C. p. 38) translates *pañcaçabdeṣvātodyeṣu* by "*die auf fünf Töne gestimmten Trommeln.*"

[4] Alberuni tells us (Vol. I. pp. 192 and 193 of Sachau's translation) that king Vallabha of Vallabhī wished to buy from Raŋka a town that the latter had purchased. Raŋka declined, but afraid of the king's resentment, he fled to the lord of Almansūra, made him presents of money, and asked him to help him with a naval force. The lord of Almanṣūra complied with his desire and assisted him. So he made a night attack upon the king Vallabha, and killed him and all his people and destroyed his town.

Miss Duff (Indian Chronology, p. 67) tells us that the Valabhī dynasty was probably overthrown about 766 A.D. by an expedition from Sindh under 'Amru Ibn Jamal.

But after the lapse of three hundred and seventy-five years,
From that time of Vikrama, took place the destruction of Valabhī.

Here end the three stories, one telling of the origin of Çilāditya, one of the origin of Raŋka, and the third of the destruction of Valabhī brought about by him.

Then, in the town of Ratnamālā, there was a king of the name of Ratnaçekhara. Once on a time, he was returning from an expedition in various directions, and on the festal occasion of his entry into the city, he was examining the row of shops adorned in his honour, when in a certain market he saw a shovel with a wooden bucket. After he had entered his palace, a large number of people arrived, with presents in their hands. He put this question to them, "Are you happy?" They answered, "We are not happy." He was bewildered with astonishment, but he dismissed them for the time, and subsequently, at a select reception,[1] he called up the principal men of the city, and said to them, "Why are you not happy?" and he also pressed them to declare the reason why a wooden bucket was hung up with a shovel. They said, "The master of the house, where your Majesty remarked a wooden bucket and so on,[2] is a possessor of great wealth, and not knowing the numerical sum of his wealth, he measures it by wooden buckets,[3] and in order to make this known he has put up this sign. And as for our not being happy, this is due to the fact that the king has no son. By whom will this city that is full of a multitude of men who can put up the banner of a crore, and that has for a long time been cherished by the king, be brought to complete prosperity, as your Majesty has no son? For this reason, considering [4] in our minds that your consorts are barren from their advanced years, we wish to provide your Majesty with youthful wives." Accordingly, with the king's permission, they went on a Sunday, when the moon was in Puṣya,[5] to the omen-house, together with a certain distinguished augur. But the augur, seeing a certain poor woman, who was near her confinement, and who lived only by carrying loads of wood, with an owl [6] perched on her head, worshipped her with whole grain and other things. They asked him, "What is the meaning of this?" He answered, "If the opinion of Bṛhaspati is good for anything, the child, with which this woman is pregnant, will be king in this town." Accepting this improbable occur-

[1] I suppose that *nirjanāvasara* corresponds to the Hindustani *dīwān-i-k͟hāṣṣ* or *darbār-i-k͟hāṣṣ*.
[2] I follow α and β, which read *kāṣṭhapātryādikaṁ avadhāritam*.
[3] It is perhaps almost unnecessary to refer to the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves.
[4] *Nidhāya* is probably a misprint, as P and α give *nidhyāya*, and β, *nidadhyāya*.
[5] This appears to be the meaning of the word *Puṣyārka* in Marāṭhi.
[6] Here the word *durgā* is again used.

rence, they returned and told the haughty[1] king the facts of the case, exactly as they stood. Then the king, having his mind filled with vexation, ordered her to be buried alive by some trustworthy men, and as they were beginning the work, they said, "Remember your favourite deity." Thereupon she, bewildered with fear of death, obtained their permission to retire for a short time in the evening twilight, and unexpectedly brought forth a son.[2] She left it there and came back, and then the men buried her alive, and returned and reported to the king what they had done. Then a certain hind suckled the child at the two twilights, and made him grow bigger every day. At that time the king Ratnaçekhara heard that in the mint[3] before the great goddess of fortune, a new coin was being produced in the shape of a boy under the four feet of a hind, and as the news spread abroad that a new king had been born somewhere, he sent his forces in every direction to kill that boy. They searched hither and thither until they found him, but though they found him, they shrank from child-murder, so they placed him in the evening in the gate of the town, in order that he might be killed by the tramplings of the hoofs of the herd of cows, and so might not bring reproach on them, and stood afar off.[4] But when the herd of cows came there and saw that boy, looking like an accumulation of the merit of past births incarnate in bodily form, they stood still where they were, as if paralyzed. Then a bull, that was bringing up the rear, put itself in front of the herd, and placing that boy, resplendent as the god of love, between his feet, made the whole herd pass by. Then the king, having reflected on that occurrence, and having been petitioned by those officers and citizens,[5] sent for that boy, and treating him as a son, brought him up, giving him the name of Çrīpuñja.[6] Then king Ratnaçekhara went to heaven, and Çrīpuñja was anointed king, and while he was administering the affairs of the kingdom, a daughter was born to him, and she, though beautiful on account of the perfection of all her limbs and members, had the face of an ape. Through disgust at this, she became averse to worldly pleasures, and bore the name of the Reverend Mother. One day there arose in her recollection of her previous birth, and she related to her father her history in a former life. She said, "I

[1] I read *mānonnatāya* with α, β and P.

[2] P, α and β omit *tam*. The two latter read *prasūtam*. This gives a good sense. I have translated as if the text were *prāsūta putram*.

[3] P and β give *ṭankaçālāyām* and α, *kaṇṭakaçālāyām*. I follow P and β.

[4] Cp. Professor E. Hardy's paper entitled "The story of the merchant Ghosaka," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1898, pp. 768, 769. In this tale a milch-goat plays the part of the hind.

[5] I translate the reading of α and β; *taiḥ sāmantanagaralokair vijñaptaçca*. The reading of the text means, "And having been informed by the people of the town that the boy was unhurt among them."

[6] In allusion, no doubt, to the fact that he was an accumulation of merit.

was formerly living as the wife of a monkey on the Arbuda mountain,[1] and as I was passing from one bough to another of a tree, my palate was cut through by the unparalleled skill of an archer,[2] and I died. My body, slipping down, fell into the holy wishing-pool,[3] which lay below the tree, and by the surpassing virtue of that holy water my body has assumed a human form, but because that head of mine still remains where it was, unchanged, I have the face of an ape." Then king Çrīpuñja ordered his confidential[4] servants to throw that head of hers into the pool. They saw the head, which had remained for a long time in that condition, and did as the king ordered, and then the Reverend Mother acquired a human face. Then she, whose virtues were a hundred millions in number,[5] took leave of her father and mother, and began to perform austerities on that Arbuda mountain. While so engaged, she was once on a time seen by a magician, who could fly through the air, and as his heart was transported by her beauty, he descended from the sky, and held loving conversation with her, and said to her, "Why do you not choose me as your lover?" She answered, "The first watch of the night is now passed; if, before the cocks begin to crow in the fourth watch, you can contrive to have made by some magical power twelve[6] roads on this mountain, then I will make you my beloved."[7] As soon as she had made this promise, the magician set a crowd of servants to work on that job, and in two watches he had managed to construct all the roads.[8] But the Reverend Mother by the plenitude of her power produced an artificial crowing of a cock; and when the magician came and said, "Prepare for your wedding," she answered, "While your road was making, a cock crew." He answered, "Who does not know that the cock-crow was artificial, and produced by your delusive power?" Accordingly his sister brought the wedding gifts to the bank of the river, and then the Reverend Mother invited him, saying, "Leave here your trident which is the source of all your power, and be ready to take my hand in marriage." He, as love had robbed him of discernment,[9] did so,

[1] Mount Abu.

[2] More literally "by some one by means of his unparalleled skill." For *çilpena* (skill) β gives *çalyena* (arrow). For *āsadat* I read *āsadaṁ* with three MSS.

[3] Such a pool is mentioned in the Kathā Koça, p. 50, as turning apes into men. The same idea will be found on p. 26 of Professor Jacobi's Introduction to the Pariçiṣṭa Parvan, and in the Kathā Prakāça, as appears from an analysis of that work lent me by Professor Eggeling.

[4] I have inserted "confidential," as I find *āpta°* in the three MSS. that I have examined.

[5] In Sanskrit *arbuda*.

[6] MSS. α and β insert *hṛdyāḥ*, charming.

[7] For the *abhīṣṭaṁ* of the text P and β give *abhikaṁ* and α *adhikaṁ*. I think that *abhikaṁ* is probably the right reading. The meaning given by Böhtlingk is *begierig, lüstern*.

[8] It is, perhaps, unnecessary to draw attention to the performances of Michael Scott and other European wizards.

[9] I read *premāpahṛta°* with α, β and P.

and went near her, but she set at his feet dogs, which she created, and then she killed him by striking him with that trident in the heart.[1] Thus she spent her life in displaying unbounded chastity. When that woman of faultless chastity passed away, the king Çrīpuñja had made there in her honour a temple without spires. For at the end of every six months the serpent, named Arbuda, that lives under that mountain, moves, and when he moves, the mountain trembles. Therefore all the temples on that mountain are without spires. Here ends the story of king Çrīpuñja and his daughter the Venerable Mother.

Once on a time there was a king Govardhana in the country of Cauḍa. He had in front of his council-house a gong of justice fastened to an iron pillar,[2] which sounded when struck by a claimant who had justice on his side. The king had only one son, and once the prince, while driving in the road mounted on a chariot, killed by mistake a certain weaned calf. The cow, his mother, continually raining tears from her eyes, in order to revenge the outrage done to her, struck with the point of her horn the gong of justice and made it sound. The king, whose reputation was unblemished, heard the sound of that gong, and having thoroughly inquired into the case of that cow,[3] in order to elevate his justice to the highest point, in the early morning himself sat[4] in a chariot, and though he loved his son, he placed that only son in the road, and making the cow stand by as a witness, drove the chariot over him. Owing to the virtue of the king, and the exceeding power of the good fortune of that son of his, the wheel of the chariot was held up, and the prince was not killed.

Here ends the story of king Govardhana.

Then, in the city of Kāntī, an old king was long ago ruling without pride. Once he was riding on the king's circuit, accompanied by a dear friend of his, the prime minister named Matisāgara. The king was carried away by his horse, which had received an inverse training,[5] and the body of forces of all four arms was gradually left at a long distance in the rear. Nevertheless, the minister, who was mounted on a very swift horse, followed him closely. But after they had got over a considerable stretch of ground, the king, who was very delicate, being exhausted with the fatigue of traversing such a long tract, died from fulness of blood. The minister performed the

[1] Apparently the Reverend Mother set phantom dogs at his feet to distract his attention.

[2] A similar story is told of the Emperor Jahāngīr in J. L. Kipling's "Beast and Man in India," p. 98.

[3] There is a play upon *arjuna*, white, and *arjunī*, a cow with one calf.

[4] I think that we should read *niviçya* with P and α.

[5] I read with α and β *viparyastābhyastena*. P has *viparyastādhyastena*. The horse galloped when pulled and *vice versâ*. See Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī s.v. *vivarīya-sikkha*.

duties immediately necessary,[1] and took the king's horse and garments, and entered the city at nightfall, and being desirous of providing for the kingdom through fear of neighbouring[2] kings, he found out a potter of the same age and appearance as the king, and put the king's garments upon him, and mounted him on the king's horse, and after he had entered the palace, he confided the whole circumstance to the queen, and made that very potter king, giving him the name of Puṇyasāra. In this way some time passed, and then the minister, being about to march against a rival king, accompanied by the whole army, appointed a certain leading man to wait on the king in the capacity of his substitute, and himself marched into the foreign country. Then that king, being free from restraint, like the husband of a docile and obedient wife,[3] felt disposed to amuse himself at will, and immediately sent for all the potters of the city, and made horses, young elephants, bulls,[4] camels, and so on, out of clay, and so played with those potters for a long time. Matters being in this state, the minister, hearing that the king was despised by all the courtiers,[5] returned from that camp[6] with a small retinue, and going to the king spoke as follows: "You have now forgotten, owing to the fickleness of your disposition, that your real rank is that of an artisan, but if you do not observe some measure, I will banish you from the country, and make some other potter's son king." The king was made angry by that speech, and in a retired part of the council-house he exclaimed, "Who waits?" and immediately some painted soldiers, who had been made ready, rushed forth and threw that minister into chains. The minister, considering that great and improbable miracle, and being astonished in his mind at the manifestation of the power of that king, fell at his feet, and earnestly entreated him to have him set at liberty. The king ordered that to be done, and then the minister, full of ardent loyalty, said to him, "I have only been the instrument in the bestowal of the kingdom upon you. Your deeds in a former life are the cause that painted figures obtain life from your power and obey your orders in this way. So you are rightly named Puṇyasāra."[7]

Here ends the story of Puṇyasāra.

Then long ago in Kusumapura,[8] a prince, named Nandivardhana, being desirous of seeing foreign countries, went off at pleasure with his umbrella-

[1] Probably this means that he burnt the king's body.

[2] I read *sīmāla* with P, α and β.

[3] I read *vaçyā* with P; α agrees with the text; β has *vaçā*. The reading of the text does not seem good, as the king only indulged in harmless childish pleasures.

[4] The three MSS. that I have seen insert °*vṛṣabha*°.

[5] Compare the story of the king in the Kathā Koça, p. 4 of my translation.

[6] It is clear from the MS. that we should read *skandhāvārāt*. There is a misprint in the text.

[7] i.e. the essence of merit, or having merit for his essence.

[8] The city of flowers or Pāṭaliputra.

bearer, without taking leave of his parents, and arrived at dawn in a certain city. There the king had died without leaving a son, and the royal elephant, having been duly inaugurated by the ministers, roamed about at will in the whole city.[1] He forgot like a bad dream the prince who had arrived there, though near to him, but he sprinkled that umbrella-bearer. So the umbrella-bearer was made by the ministers to enter the city in great triumph as king,[2] and he took with him the prince also, making him share that great reception, and so passed on to the palace. When the prince had entered the palace, he conciliated him with these complimentary words, "I am only the master of the courtiers, but you are my master." But that king was unworthy to be a receptacle of the kingly virtues, and infinitely foolish, and did not know how to cherish the castes and stages of life. The more he was addicted to oppressing the subjects, in administering his kingdom, the thinner did the prince become every day, like the moon, when seized by the head of Rāhu. On a certain occasion the king saw the prince in that state and asked him the cause of his leanness. The prince answered, "You oppress the subjects out of stupidity, and it is owing to that improper conduct of yours that I suffer from excessive leanness. I have proved the truth of the *gāthā*,—

I dwell in the midst of dolts; the double-tongued ones are intent on listening to their lord;
That I live at all is so much to the good; why should you wonder at my leanness?"

Immediately after he had said this, the king answered, "As, owing to the fact that the demerit of these subjects who delight in wickedness had come to an head, the destined time of their chastisement had arrived, I was made king; if the governor of the world had intended that they should be cherished, the royal elephant would have sprinkled you and made you sovereign." The malady of that prince was checked by the king's speech, and its sound argument, as if by two medicines, and he regained stoutness of body.

Here ends the story of Karmasāra.[3]

Then, in the country of Gauḍa, in the city of Lakṣaṇāvatī, a king of the name of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled for a long time, and his kingdom was administered by the minister Umāpatidhara,[4] who was a treasure-house of all intelligence. But the king became blind with passion, as if through

[1] See the note on page 4 of my translation of the Kathā Koça.
[2] But α and β read *rājakumāram*. *Mahatāṁ* appears to be a misprint, as the MSS. read *mahatā*.
[3] Perhaps Karmasāra ("stock of works") was the name of the umbrella-bearer.
[4] An author of this name is referred to in the 4th çloka of the Gītā Govinda: *Vācaḥ pallavayatyumāpatidharaḥ*.

association with his force of many furious elephants,[1] and contracted the disgraceful stain of association with a Mātaṅgī.

But Umāpatidhara heard of that circumstance, and thinking that, owing to the sternness of his disposition, he would not be able to restrain his master,[2] in order to admonish him in another way, he wrote up secretly these stanzas on the notice-board of the council-pavilion,—

Coolness indeed is your quality, and next to that a natural clearness;
What are we to say? Other impure things become pure by touching you;
And what further cause for commendation of you is there? You are the life of creatures;
If you, water, go on a downward path, who is able to restrain you?[3]
If you ride on a bull, what disgrace therefore attaches to the elephants of the quarters?
If you make to yourself ornamental bracelets with snakes, there is not therefore depreciation of gold:
If you make the pale-rayed moon the decoration of your head, what reproach is that to the lamp of the three worlds,
The friend of the lotuses? You are the lord of all the worlds. What are we to say?[4]
If he boasts that he cut off the head of Brahmā, if he has friendship with ghosts,
If intoxicated he sports with the Mothers, if he delights in the burning-ground,
If he creates and then destroys creatures, nevertheless devoutly concentrating my mind
I adore him. What am I to do? The three worlds are empty: he indeed is lord.
In this great time of nightfall you are the only king, then why, O *kumuda*,[5]
Do you not shed abroad your splendour, eclipsing the fortune of the lotuses?
That Brahmā reposes on the lotus and that it is honoured in the ranks of flowers,
Who are you that you should prevent that? Even the Creator cannot do so much.

[1] The word *mātaṅga* means elephant and also Cāṇḍāla. There is an allusion to the fact that elephants become *mast*.

[2] I follow the reading of P, α and β *anākalanīyatāṁ* for *anālokanīyatāṁ*. I have neglected the second *ca*.

[3] No. 6521 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. He reads *bhavanti* for *vrajanti*. So we must translate, "What are we to say of your pureness?" Also he reads, *Kiṁ cānyat kathayāmi*, "I will mention also another cause of praise." This stanza is taken from the Praçnottaramālā.

[4] No. 2655 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. It comes from the Kuvalayānanda.

[5] The *kumuda* is the friend of the moon and opens at night.

O necklace well-rounded, well-strung, very worthy, of very costly price,
Your lovely form becomes the firm bosom of a beautiful dame :
Alas ! clinging to the hard neck of a low-born woman and thereby broken,
You have lost, unfortunately, all your state of merit.[1]

On the occasion of a certain general reception[2] the king read those stanzas, and understood their drift, and cherished a secret hatred against the minister, for,—

As a general rule, pointing out the right way leads to immediate wrath,[3]
As the showing of a mirror to one whose nose has been cut off.

On this principle, he deprived him of his office to gratify his anger. Then, once on a time, that king, having returned from his royal circuit, saw that minister in a pitiable condition, alone, and at a loss for resources, and in his rage he made the elephant-driver drive the elephant at him to kill him. But he said to the elephant-driver, "Restrain the elephant from its rush, until I have said something to the king." The elephant-driver complied with his request, and then Umāpatidhara said,—

He stands naked with his body grey with dust, he mounts on the back of a cow;
He sports with snakes ; he dances, bearing aloft the blood-dripping skin of an elephant;
We fix our love[4] on Çiva on account of these and similar deeds outside the pale of good custom ;
Such is the behaviour of one to whom preceptors do not teach the truth.[5]

The elephant of the king's mind was in this way restrained by the elephant-hook of the minister's discernment, and repenting somewhat[6] of his conduct, blaming himself freely, he gradually abandoned that evil practice, and made Umāpatidhara once more minister.

Here ends the story of Lakṣmaṇasena and Umāpatidhara.

Then, in the town of Benares, a king, of the name of Jayacandra, cherishing the fortune of a mighty kingdom, bore the title of "the cripple," because he was so embarrassed with the multitude of his forces, that he could not march anywhere without resting on the two staves of the

[1] This passage is full of puns. "Well-rounded" means also "of good conduct," and the same word stands for "merit" and "string." It is necessary to read *mahārghya* for *manarghya* with α and β. P has *maharghya*.

[2] I read *sarvāvasaraprastāve* with P and α.

[3] I read *sampratikopāya* with P, α and β. There is a misprint in the text. In the next line, for *yadvadādarça°* α and β give *viçuddhādarça°*.

[4] P, α and β give *ābaddharāgo Haraḥ*. I think that this would mean "Çiva delights in these and similar practices."

[5] For *santo* α and β give *satyaṁ* and P *saṁtya*. I read *satyaṁ*.

[6] I read with α and β *carite kiñcit sānuçayaḥ*. P gives *carite kacit*.

Yamunā and the Gaŋgā.[1] Once on a time, the wife of a head of a family who was a citizen of that town, a lady named Sūhava, surpassing in beauty the females of the three worlds, had been playing in the water in the season of terrible heat, and was standing on the bank of the river of the gods.[2] That wagtail-eyed one saw a wagtail sitting on the crest of a snake, and thinking that omen a most incomprehensible one,[3] she fell at the feet of a certain Brahman, who had come to bathe, and asked him for an explanation of it. That man learned in omens said to her, "If you will always observe my command, I will tell you the explanation of it." She said, "That command shall be reverenced by me as if it were the command of a father; I will always carry it on my head."[4] When she promised this, he said to her, "On the seventh day from this you will become the head wife of this king." Thereupon they both returned home.

Then, on the day fixed by that Brahman learned in omens, that king, on returning from his royal circuit, saw in a certain street that young wife[5] of a householder, whose body, though she was unadorned, was sanctified by infinite beauty, and accepting her as the thief of all the wealth of his heart, he made her his head wife. Subsequently, she, out of gratitude, remembered her promise to the Brahman, and after she had told the king of that augury of Vidyādhara, that Vidyādhara was summoned by beat of drum, and the king, seeing that seven hundred men named Vidyādhara arrived, separated that one after he had been recognized, and duly honoured and dismissed the others, and then he said to Vidyādhara, who was distressed with adversity, "Ask what you like."[6] He was delighted with the king's command, and said, "Let me always attend on your royal person." The king consented, saying, "So be it!" and afterwards, observing his boundless cleverness, he made him bear the chief burden in all the business of the state. So he gradually accumulated wealth, and every day he had made for the thirty-two ladies of his harem ornaments perfumed with abundance of genuine camphor, and had the old ones flung into the rubbish-hole, as if they were flowers offered to a deity, and like a visible incarnation of some god, he continued to taste heavenly enjoyments; but he never tasted food himself, until he had given to eighteen thousand Brahmans the food that they desired. Then, once on a time, though possessing fourteen sciences, he was sent by the king to make war

[1] This means, I suppose, that his army extended from one river to the other.

[2] i.q. Gaŋgā or Ganges.

[3] The text is supported by the MSS., but the grammar seems to be defective. According to Varāha Mihira XLV. 4 (Kern's translation), a wagtail is fortunate when seen on the head of a snake.

[4] I find in *a pitṛnirviçeṣasya mānyāmājñāṁ sadaiva mūrdhnā vahāmi*. This is probably right, as P agrees, except that it gives erroneously *ājñā*.

[5] Here she is called *çālāpatibālā*. Before she was called *çālāpateḥ patnī*.

[6] P and *a* read *yathocitaṁ*, what is fitting.

on a foreign monarch, and as he plunged into country after country, at last he encamped in a region utterly devoid of fuel; and when the time came to cook for those Brahmans, he supplied the cook with robes, and pieces of fine cloth smeared with oil, by way of fuel, and so managed to feed the Brahmans according to custom. Then he conquered the enemy that opposed him, and returned in triumph, and when he reached the environs of his own city, he heard that the king was angry, because he had burnt the pieces of fine cloth in order to procure food.[1] So he caused his own house to be plundered by petitioners, and went off with the desire of worshipping holy places. The king followed him up and tried to conciliate him, but he through high spirit pointed out that his desire [2] was due to the king's disposition, and with great difficulty managed to take leave of him, and brought his life to a conclusion. Immediately after that, the queen Sūhava asked the king to bestow the office of crown prince on her son, but he admonished her, saying, "It is not fitting to bestow the sceptre of our race on the son of an unchaste woman." So being desirous of killing her husband, she summoned the Mlecchas.

Then the king heard of that circumstance by a report that came from his representatives,[3] so he respectfully asked a certain Digambara, who had won the favour of a boon from Padmāvatī, for an augury, and he informed the king that the goddess Padmāvatī had certainly issued an order forbidding the approach of the Mlecchas. Then the king, hearing after some days that the Mlecchas were drawing nigh, asked the Digambara, "What is the meaning of this?" So the Digambara that very night began a sacrifice before Padmāvatī in the presence of the king. Then Padmāvatī, brought there by his perfect power of attracting spirits, appeared within the garland of flame in the sacrificial pit, and said that she had forbidden the approach of the Turuṣkas. Then the naked mendicant, in a fit of rage, seized the goddess by the ears, and said, "As the Mlecchas are approaching, do you, even you, say what is false?" [4] When he reproached her in these words, she said, "That Padmāvatī, whom you question so devoutly, has fled from the might of my prowess; while I, being the family deity of the Mlecchas, encourage people with false speeches, and by means of the Mlecchas rob them of breath."[5] When she had said this, she disappeared. The next morning the king found out by actual deeds

[1] *Piṇyāka* is given in the smaller Böhtlingk as *Oelkuchen*, but here it must mean food generally.
[2] But P, α and B give *nṛpater āçayaṁ svābhilāṣasambhavena*.
[3] *Sthānapuruṣāṇāṁ*.
[4] P, α and β read *brūṣe*. If we adopt this reading, we may perhaps translate, "As they are near, what is the upshot of the whole matter? Are you saying what is false?"
[5] P reads *vigataçvāsaṁ;* but the reading of the text, which is that of α and β, must probably be taken in this sense.

that Benares was surrounded by the army of the Mlecchas, for the twanging of their bows drowned the sound of fourteen hundred pairs of kettle-drums,[1] and as his mind was bewildered by the mighty host of the Mlecchas, he placed that son of queen Sūhava on his own elephant, and plunged, elephant and all, into the waters of the Ganges.

Here ends the story of Jayacandra.

Then a Kṣatriya, named Jagaddeva,[2] who was the most eminent of heroes in three ways,[3] though honoured by the emperor Siddha, was earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin the crusher of his enemies,[4] who was enslaved by the charm of Jagaddeva's merits, and so he went to the country of Kuntala, which may be called the braided hair-knot[5] of the matron Earth. When the doorkeeper announced his arrival to Paramardin, it happened that a low woman was dancing in his court, unclothed save for a flowered petticoat, and at that moment she was seized with shame, and, snatching up her upper garment, sat down where she was. Then the king's doorkeeper introduced Jagaddeva, and the king, after showing him respect, and honouring him with friendly conversation and so on, gave him a piece of fine *dukūla*-stuff as a splendid covering, together with[6] an incomparably magnificent piece of cloth, the value of which amounted to a lakh. When Jagaddeva had sat down on a distinguished seat, and the temporary disturbance in the court had ceased, the king ordered the low dancer to resume her dance. Then she, being renowned for making a show of propriety, and unequalled in wily cleverness,[7] said, "The only man in the world, named Jagaddeva, has just arrived, so I am ashamed to be without my upper garment in his presence. Women, in the presence of women, behave as they like." His mind was gratified by this surpassing praise, and he gave her the two garments which the king had bestowed on him. Then, owing to the favour of Paramardin, Jagaddeva became governor of a province, and his teacher came to visit him, and presented him with this stanza:—

A Brahmany drake[8] asked a lotus,[9] "Tell me, friend, is there anywhere
such a place to live in
Where night does not take place on the earth for a long time?" The
lotus answered,

[1] I omit *bale*, as it is not found in P, α or β. I suppose that *niḥsvāna* is a musical instrument consisting of two pieces of metal.
[2] This Jagaddeva is apparently referred to in Kīrtikaumudī II. 99.
[3] The editor tells us, in mercy, generosity and warlike prowess.
[4] I find in P *paramarditaçriyā çrīParamardinā.*
[5] Kuntala means "hair" or "lock of hair."
[6] I read *yutaṁ*, with α and β, for *yugaṁ* P has *yuta.*
[7] I find in P *aucityaprapañce cañcuçcancaccāturyadhuryā;* α agrees, but has *°prapañca°;* but β agrees with the text.
[8] The Brahmany drake separates from its mate at night.
[9] P gives *pānthaṁ*, a traveller; α and β, *pāthaṁ*, water.

"Meru[1] has been brought to an end by the man named Jagaddeva, by means of gifts of gold,
And so for the last few days this sun has not been hidden; thus he has created perpetual day."

As a reward for this stanza, that munificent man gave him half a lakh.

While Jagaddeva, whose right arm is skilful in protecting the earth, the consecrating priest of generosity,
The home of prosperity, of fortunate birth, is bestowing gifts on the world,
The servants become continually occupied every day, in the houses of learned men,
In making ropes for the binding-trees of choice elephants,[2] and tethers for horses.
While you live, there are living Bali, Karṇa and Dadhīci,
But while I live, O Jagaddeva, Poverty is alive.
While the Disposer is creating poor men, and you are making satisfied men,
We do not know, O Jagaddeva, whose hand will cease first.
Jagaddeva, when you enter the temple of Çiva, the lord of the world,
Your glory is like the *liṅga*, and the asterisms[3] like whole grain poured upon it.
The sea is unfathomable; the vessel of the earth is broad; the ether is omnipresent;
Meru is lofty; Viṣṇu, the enemy of Kaitabha, is renowned for greatness;
Jagaddeva is heroic; the tree of the gods is generous; the river of the gods
Is purifying; the moon is nectar-raining; these facts are no novelty.

Jagaddeva had given the words "no novelty," and the stanza was completed by a paṇḍit. The stanzas cited above and others like them must be considered as handed down by tradition.

Then the queen-consort of king Paramardin was the adopted sister of Jagaddeva. Once on a time, Jagaddeva was sent by the king to conquer a neighbouring[4] sovereign, and while he was worshipping the god, he heard that his soldiers were attacked by the enemy's force, which had entrapped them into an ambuscade; but he did not cease performing the worship of the god in which he was engaged. On that occasion, king

[1] Mount Meru consists of gold and jewels. The planets revolve round it.
[2] Literally smell-elephants, the smell of which puts to flight other elephants.
[3] The *nakṣatramālādīpikāḥ* in the temple of Çiva are mentioned on page 215 of the printed text.
[4] I read *sīmāla* with P, $\alpha$ and $\beta$.

Paramardin, having ascertained from the report of spies the tidings of the defeat of Jagaddeva, an event which was unexampled, said to the queen, "Your brother, though he wears the title of the chief of battle-heroes, has been overcome by the enemy, and reduced to such a condition that he is not even able to escape." When that queen heard this cutting sarcasm of the king, she, though it was the time of morning-twilight, looked towards the western quarter. The king said, "What are you looking for?" She said, "The sunrise." The king said, "Silly woman, does the sun ever rise in the western quarter?" She answered, "The visible universe of Brahmā is turned upside down; the sunrise may take place in the western quarter, though difficult to happen; but never can the defeat of the prince of Kṣatriyas, Jagaddeva, take place." Such was the loving conversation of the royal couple. After the worship of the god was concluded, Jagaddeva rose up, with five hundred brave warriors, and easily dispersed that army,[1] as the sun the accumulation of darkness, as a lion's whelp a herd of elephants, as an eddy of wind a bank of clouds. Then the king, named Paramardin, enjoying a splendid sovereignty which became quite proverbial in the world, day and night, except during the time of sleep, adorned with his might the use of the knife, and ruthlessly killed with his dagger every day at mealtime one cook, while engaged in serving up the food, and thus he was waited upon in the year by three hundred and sixty cooks. By this practice he acquired the title of the "Destroying flame of wrath."

Ether, advance; move on, ye cardinal points; become thou broad, O Earth;
You have beheld with your own eyes the development of the glories of primeval kings;
Observe! from the increasing expansion of the collected glory of king Paramardin,
The egg of Brahmā[2] is assuming the condition of a pomegranate bursting from the swelling of its seeds.

Praised with this and similar praises, he long enjoyed the sweets of rule. Now it happened that he was involved in war with Pṛthvīrāja the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, and he went up to the field of battle. His army was defeated and he became a fugitive. Fleeing in the first direction that offered itself, he reached his own capital. Then a former servant of that king, named Pūrva,[3] who had been disgraced and banished from the country, came into the royal court of Pṛthvīrāja, and after he had made his bow, he

[1] I read with β *tadbalaṁ dalayāmāsa*. P and α give simply *dalayāmāsa*.
[2] i.e. the universe.
[3] I follow the reading of α and β, *apamānitaḥ Pūrvaḥ kopi tatpūrvasevako*. P has *apamānitasūrvasevako*.

was asked by the king, "What deity is specially worshipped in the city of Paramardin on account of benefits?" Thereupon he recited this stanza, which was suited to the occasion:—

Enthusiasm about the worship of the moon-diademed god is slack, there is no thirst for adoring Kṛṣṇa;
There is a torpor about prostrations before the wife of Çiva; the house of Brahmā is distracted;[1]
Grass is now worshipped in Paramardin's city, because, when taken in the mouth,
It preserved our lord Paramardin from Pṛthvīrāja, the king of men.[2]

The king, pleased with this panegyric, bestowed on him the present which he desired.[3]

He repulsed from his city thrice seven times the king of the Mlecchas, but nevertheless that very king came for the twenty-second time to the capital of Pṛthvīrāja, and encamped there with his formidable army. A chief of heroes, named Tuṅga, a recipient of boundless favours from his master, bearing the bravery characteristic of the warrior race, like a second body,[4] perceiving that his king's mind was full of annoyance because the enemy came back again and again like a mosquito that is driven away, entered at night-time the camp of the king of the Mlecchas, together with his son, who was the very image of himself. He found round the pavilion of that enemy a ditch fiercely flaming[5] with charcoal made of *khadira* wood. So he said to his son, "I will plunge into this, and then you must set your foot on my back, and put to death that king of the Mlecchas." When the father had given his son these instructions, the son said, "This task is utterly impossible for me to accomplish, and it is also utterly impossible for me to witness the death of my father out of a longing for life; therefore I will plunge into the ditch myself; do you bring the king to his end." When he had said this, he acted accordingly, and then his father, thinking that his master's business was all but accomplished, put to death that enemy with ease, and returned home. When the night had almost turned into morning, the hostile army, finding that their king was killed,

[1] I read *stambhaḥ* with α and β, and take *grahaḥ* in the sense of *gṛhaḥ*. Indeed β gives *gṛhaḥ*.

[2] There is an allusion to the custom of taking grass in the mouth in token of submission.

[3] I read *iti stutiparitoṣitaḥ sa rājā taṁ tadīpsitena pāritoṣikena anujagrāha*. This is substantially the reading of P, α and β, but I substitute *pāritoṣikena* for *pāritoṣitena*.

[4] I read with α and β *prasādapātraṁ dvitīyamiva gātraṁ*.

[5] The Sanskrit word *dhagadhagāyamānaṁ*, which I have thus translated, does not appear in the dictionaries, but it is probably identical with the Marāṭhi word *dhagdhagṇeṁ*, to burn, glow fiercely.

took to flight. That hero Tuṅga, being of lofty nature, never told the king the real state of the case. On a certain occasion the king, seeing that the wife of Tuṅga's son, who was well known on account of her being honoured by the sovereign,[1] had left off wearing her auspicious bracelet, in a flurry asked Tuṅga the reason, but he, though questioned, being profound as the sea, kept within the bound of silence, and said nothing, until the king adjured him by his own life[2] to answer, when he said, "It is painful to have to commit the offence of declaring one's own merit;[3] nevertheless at the king's request I will tell the truth." Thereupon he related the whole occurrence, exactly as it took place, though he was afraid that a recompense would be made him.

This is a certain great and world-transcending
Sternheartedness of lofty-souled ones;
When they have conferred a benefit, they are free from desire,
Dreading lest they should receive a recompense from their neighbour.

Here ends the story of the hero Tuṅga.

Then, once on a time, the son of that king of the Mlecchas, being now himself king, remembering his father's feud, and being desirous of making war on the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, came with all his host, but that army was driven away by the arrows of the valiant bowmen that formed the advance-guard of Pṛthvīrāja's army, as if by heavy showers from the clouds of the rainy season, and then Pṛthvīrāja went in pursuit of it. The officer[4] that presided over the kitchen said to him, "It will not be easy for even seven hundred she-camels to carry the kitchen service, so your Majesty should furnish me with a few more she-camels." The king gave him the following assurance: "When I have cut off the king of the Mlecchas,[5] I will give you the she-camels that you ask for," and started off again on his march. A minister named Someçvara again and again tried to dissuade him, but the king, erroneously supposing that he favoured the enemy, cut off his ears. Someçvara was incensed against that king on account of that cruel outrage, so he repaired to the king of the Mlecchas, and made him and his followers trust him by revealing to them that insult, and then led them into the neighbourhood of Pṛthvīrāja's camp. King Pṛthvīrāja was sleeping, after bringing to an end the fast of the eleventh day, and when a furious combat took place between the heroes of his

[1] The reading of α, *rājamānatayā*, would mean "on account of her usual magnificence."
[2] All the MSS. read *nija*.
[3] The words *pṛṣṭo nijaguṇapātakaṁ* are omitted in α. For the sentiment cp. Vairāgyaçataka 36 (ed. Telang), *nijaguṇakathāpātakamapi*.
[4] Here *pañcakula* means simply an officer.
[5] According to α and β, "and seized his camels" should be inserted.

vanguard and the Mlecchas,[1] he was so excessively drowsy that he was fettered by the Turuṣkas, and taken to their king's palace. On a second occasion, the king was bringing to an end the fast of the eleventh day, and while he was worshipping the god, the king of the Mlecchas sent there some roasted flesh on a dish. They placed it inside the tent, but, as at that precise moment every one was occupied with the worship of the god, a dog proceeded to make off with that meat. The sentinels said to the king, "Why do you not rescue the meat?" He said, "I am looking on with a mind bewildered with wonder at the fact that my kitchen service, which formerly could with difficulty be carried by seven hundred camels, is now reduced to such a pitiable condition by the arrangement of spiteful destiny." They said, "Have you still any heroic vigour left in you?" He said, "If I manage[2] to return to my own palace, I will show you the strength of my body." The sentinels informed the king of the Mlecchas, who, being eager to behold Pṛthvīrāja's valour, took him to his own capital; but when he was about to reinstate him as sovereign in his own palace, he saw there in the picture-gallery Mlecchas represented as being slain by droves of pigs. The sovereign of the Turuṣkas was exceedingly incensed at this biting insult, and he put Pṛthvīrāja to death by cutting off his head with an axe.

Here end the stories of king Paramardin and Jagaddeva and Pṛthvīrāja.

Then there lived in Çatānandapura, to which the sea served as a moat, a king of the name of Mahānanda, and his queen was called Madanarekhā. As the king had a numerous harem, he was indifferent to the queen,[3] and for this reason she was anxious to perform some magical rite in order to bewitch her husband, and so gain his affection, and with this object she kept questioning all kinds of foreigners and professors of arts, and at last she obtained an infallible philtre for the work of enchantment from a truthful reliable person, but at the moment when she was about to employ it, she remembered the maxim,—

"The procuring of love by the might of charms and roots is called treachery against a husband;"

so, like a virtuous woman, she threw that magic powder into the sea. But inasmuch as the force of gems, spells and simples is incalculable, the sea was captivated by the might of that medicine, and came at night in human form, and made the queen pregnant. Thus the king, suddenly finding out the fact of her pregnancy from obvious indications, was angry,

[1] For *Mlecchādhipatīnāṁ* P gives *Mlecchānā* (*sic.*); α and β omit the word, but give *Mlecchānāṁ* after *saha*. I follow the MSS.

[2] I read *labhe* with P.

[3] I read with α and β, *°prācuryāt tāṁ prati viraktacetā nṛpatiriti saṁvanana°*. This is to a certain extent confirmed by P, which gives *tāṁ pratiriti saṁvanana°*.

and was considering for her some punishment or other, such as banishment and so on, and preparations were being persistently pushed forward for her execution, when the sea appeared in visible form, and proclaimed himself in these words, "I am the deity that presides over the sea,"[1] and consoled her, saying, "Do not fear, timid one."[2] Then he said to the king,—

"He who marries a maiden of good birth, adorned with virtue,
And does not regard her with an equal eye, is said to be exceedingly wicked.

Therefore I will drown you who despise her, and your harem and attendants with a tide overflowing the shore as at the day of doom." When the queen was terrified at this speech, and set herself to propitiate him, he said, "This is my son, so I will give him a new land fit for him to rule in."[3] When he had said this, he withdrew his waters in certain places, and revealed islands. All these became generally known to people as Kauṇkanas.[4]

Here ends the story of the origin of the Koṇkan.

Then, in the city of Pāṭalīputra, there was a certain son of a Brahman named Varāha, and he from his birth was a believer in astrology, but on account of his poverty he grazed cattle in order to keep himself alive. As he was thus employed, one day he drew a horoscope on a certain stone, and returned home at nightfall without rubbing it out.[5] When he had performed the duties appropriate to the time, he sat down to eat at night-time, and remembering that he ought to rub out the horoscope, he fearlessly went to the place at night, but when he reached it, he saw a lion sitting on the stone. Regarding even the lion with contempt, he placed his hand under the creature's belly, and began to rub out[6] the horoscope. While he was so engaged, the sun-god abandoned the form of a lion, and manifested himself in his true shape, and said, "Choose a boon." Then Varāha asked by way of a boon, "Show me the whole circle of the asterisms and the planets." So the sun-god made him mount on his chariot, and took him to the heaven, and there he inspected on the spot for a year[7] the con-

[1] Here α gives *jaladher°*. This I adopt.

[2] The word *bhīru* is inserted in α and β. P gives *tīru* apparently.

[3] After *majjayiṣyāmi* P, α and β insert *iti bhayabhrāntāyā anunayaparāyā ayaṁ madīya eva sūnuḥ tad asmai sāṁrājyocitāṁ navyāṁ bhūmim ahaṁ dāsyāmi.* These words seem to be required and I have adopted them.

[4] *Kauṇkanāni.* The word which I represent by the modern Koṇkan is Kauṇkana.

[5] *Akṛtatadvisarjanaḥ.* Here P gives *visarjanaḥ*, and α and β agree. Below P has *lagnavisajanām*, but α and β have *lagnavisarjanām°*. Professor Leumann would read *°vimārjanaḥ*, and below *lagnāvimārjanam.*

[6] Here α has *visarjayan*, β *visṛjan*, P *vimṛjan* with the printed text. Professor Leumann thinks that the root *mṛj* is meant throughout. On page 36 of the printed text α and P have *unmṛjya* where the Bombay editor gives *utsṛjya*, which supports Professor Leumann's view.

[7] I read with α and β, *vatsarāntaṁ.*

ditions of the planets, their retrograde motion, their accelerated motion, their rising and setting, and so on, and came back to the world, and because the sun[1] had shown him this favour, he became known by the name of Varāhamihira. He was highly honoured by king Nanda, and he composed a new treatise on astronomy called the Vārāhī Saṁhitā. Then, once on a time, on the occasion of the birth of a son to himself, he set up a clock in his house, and according to it he ascertained exactly[2] the position of the heavenly bodies at the time of birth, and in accordance with the treatises on nativities, by the help of the knowledge of the whole circle of planets seen by himself with his own eyes in the zodiac, he predicted for that son a life of the length of a hundred years. On the great birth-festival there was nobody that did not come with a present in his hand, from the king downwards, with the single exception of the Jaina teacher, named Bhadrabāhu, his younger brother. That astrologer told the minister Çakaḍāla,[3] who was devoted to the Jina, the reason of that Jaina doctor's not coming, in a way that was full of censure. That great-souled one was informed by the minister, and as, thanks to his perfect knowledge of the scripture, he had grasped in his hand, like an *āmalaka* fruit, the three times, he pointed out that he did not come because he must declare, that that son would die on the twentieth day from birth, by means of a cat. The minister repeated this declaration of his[4] to Varāhamihira, and from that time forth Varāhamihira, in order to avert from his family that calamity which was inevitably to befall that son, made use of hundreds of devices to keep away cats. Nevertheless, on the date specified, at night, a bar suddenly fell on the boy's head, and so he went to the next world. Then the reverend teacher Bhadrabāhu, in order to extract that dart of grief, went to Varāhamihira's house, and when he arrived there, he saw in the courtyard of the house, all Varāhamihira's books treating of the science of astrology, piled together in a heap, on the point of being burnt. He asked the astrologer, "What is the meaning of this?" He enviously reproached the Jaina hermit, and said despondently, "I will burn these doubt-producing books,[5] by which even I have been deceived." Thereupon the Jaina hermit explained to him completely, by virtue of his knowledge of the scriptures, the position of the heavenly bodies at his son's birth, and by his keen discernment informed him of the effect of those planets, and

[1] *Mihira.*

[2] I read *çuddhaṁ* with P, α and β.

[3] In the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, and the Pariçiṣṭaparvan (ed. Jacobi), the name is Çakatāla. I find Çakaṭāli in α and β.

[4] I follow the reading of α and β, *iti teṣām upadeçe Varāhamihirāya nivedite*, P has *iti teṣām upadeça ca tāṃ Varāhamihirāya nivedite.*

[5] I have translated the reading of the text, but β gives *etāni rohanmohasandohakāriṇi*. P gives *māha* for *moha*, and α, *moda*, followed by *doha*. I should translate, "these books which produce an accumulation of growing infatuation."

showed that the result was twenty days of life. In this way he took away his disgust with his art. But that astrologer said, "Your prediction that the boy would be killed by a cat was erroneous." When he said this, the great hermit had that bar brought there, and showed him the figure of a cat scratched on it, and said, "Is destiny ever frustrated?"

For whom do we weep here?[1] Who has gone? This body is composed of imperishable atoms;
If grief is merely due to the destruction of a particular arrangement of them, never must we give way to despair.
By existences produced from non-existence, called into existence by the power of delusion,
And ending in the state of non-existence,[2] infatuation is not produced in the good.

Having admonished him by this speech and argument that hermit went to his own place.

Though Varāhamihira was thus instructed, he was so confused by the Dhattūra-poison of false religion, that everything presented itself to him in a yellow light.[3] Owing to his excessive jealousy of that Jaina hermit, he injured by sorcery some of the laymen devoted to him, and others he killed. The hermit by his great knowledge found out this fact from them, and in order to put a stop to this trouble,[4] he composed a new panegyric, called the trouble-removing noose.

Here ends the story of Varāhamihira.

Then, on the mountain named Ḍhaṇka, there was a Rajput named Raṇasiṁha. He had a daughter named Bhūpala, and Vāsuki,[5] seeing that she surpassed in beauty the maidens of the snake-world, fell in love with her, and visited her, and had a son by her, named Nāgārjuna. The mind of that king of Pātāla was infatuated with love for his son, and he made him eat the fruits, roots, and leaves of all herbs, and owing to their virtue he was adorned with great magical powers, and inasmuch as he was a great magician, he was able to penetrate the earth, and though he was teacher of arts to king Sātavāhana, and had thus obtained a distinguished position, he waited on the teacher Pādalipta in the town of Pādalipta, in order to

[1] I read with P, α and β, *kasyātraca* for *kasmāt*, and insert with the same three MSS., *kāyo'yaṁ* before *paramāṇavo*.

[2] I read with α and β, *abhāvaniṣṭhāparyantaiḥ*, and *bhramaḥ* for *tamaḥ* with α and β. P gives *tramaḥ*.

[3] I read with α and β, *dhattūritasya kanakabhrāntiriva teṣu matsarocchekāt tad-bhaktān upāsakān abhicāra°*. P gives *dhanaritasya kanakabhrāntiriva teṣu matsa-rocchekād bhaktān umāsakān*. We have had an allusion before to this property of Dhattūra. I take it that *uccheka* = *utseka*.

[4] I insert *upasargaçāntaye* before *upasargaharaṁ* with P, α and β.

[5] The king of the snakes, who rules the underground world Pātāla.

acquire the art of flying in the air. As his mind was uplifted with pride,[1] he took the following course. His teacher had at meal-time flown through the air by virtue of an unguent applied to his feet,[2] and adored the holy places Aṣṭāpada and others, so, when he returned home, Nāgārjuna washed his feet, and as he knew the colour, taste, smell, and other properties of 107 potent herbs, he quickly found out in that way what the unguent was made of; so he applied it to his feet, despising his teacher, and flew up like a cock or a peacock, but fell into a pit, and so his body was crippled with the multitude of bruises thereby produced. His teacher questioned him, saying, "What is the meaning of this?" So he told his teacher exactly what had occurred. The teacher was astonished in his mind at his ingenuity, and placed his lotus-like hand on his head and said, "You must wet those herbs with water, in which grains of rice, that ripens in sixty days,[3] have been boiled, and then you will be able to fly through the air by anointing your feet with an unguent made of them." In this way Nāgārjuna obtained one magical power by his teacher's favour. Moreover, he heard from his mouth that an elixir, prepared in front of the image of Pārçvanātha and bruised by a woman, devoted to her husband, and distinguished by all the good points of womanhood, was all-powerful. Now there was an image of Pārçvanātha, which Samudravijaya, of the Daçārha race, heard[4] to be very excellent from the mouth of Neminātha, who knew the three times, and so he had it made of jewels, and set it up in a temple in Dvāravatī, but after Dvāravatī was burnt, and that city was overwhelmed by the sea, the image remained unharmed in that very sea. The ship of a merchant of Kāntī,[5] named Dhanapati, was arrested there by the exceeding might of the god, and the merchant was informed by a divine voice, "Here is an image of a Jina." So he sent out sailors at that very spot, and fastening round it seven new ropes, drew it up, and placed it in a temple which he himself built in his own city, as having gained something past all conception. That all-surpassing image Nāgārjuna carried off in order to prepare his magic elixir, and set it up on the bank of the river Seḍī, and to compound this magic medicine in front of it, he brought there every night the virtuous[6] wife of king Sātavāhana,

[1] I read with P, *mānocchritamatir* for *vratamatir*; α has *mānossitamatir*; and β, *mānojjitamatir*.

[2] See note on page 594 of the second volume of my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara.

[3] P, β and α give *ṣāṣṭika*. The abridged Petersburg Dictionary gives as the meaning of *ṣaṣṭikā*, *in sechzig Tagen reifender Reis*. (See Cowell and Thomas' Translation of the Harṣa Carita, p. 225, note 1.)

[4] P, α and β omit *çrutvā* (heard). The passage would mean "had made according to the directions of Nemi."

[5] I find in α, *Kāntībhya°*, which means a rich merchant from Kāntī. P has *Kāntītaḥ*.

[6] I read with P, *çrīsātavāhanapatnīm ekapatnīm*.

named Candralekhā, by the help of demons that he had subjugated by witchcraft, and made her bruise the herbs for the elixir. As in this way she was continually going to this spot and returning, she began to look upon Nāgārjuna as a friend, and so asked him what was the object of bruising those herbs. He told her the whole circumstance of the all-powerful elixir, in accordance with his own idea, and treated her with a kindness that baffled the power of description, and showed her an increasing familiarity [1] that he extended to no one else. Then, once on a time, she told this story to her own two sons, and they, desiring the elixir, left the kingdom, and went to the land adorned by the presence of Nāgārjuna, and treacherously disguising themselves in order to get possession of that medicine, gained over, by a gift of money, the cook of the place where he took his meals, and asked her for news of the elixir. She, in order to find out about it, flavoured with that view his *rasavatī* with overmuch salt, and after six months had passed, he began to abuse the *rasavatī* as being briny. Then she intimated to the two princes by signs that the elixir was complete. Then they, who had been adopted as his nephews,[2] being eager to seize the elixir, and having found out by rumour, reaching them in a roundabout way, the fact that Vāsuki had predicted Nāgārjuna's death by a blade of *darbha*-grass, killed him by that very weapon as predicted, and that elixir, in virtue of its being presided over by a deity duly set up,[3] vanished. Where that elixir was arrested is the holy place of Pārçvanātha, called Stambhanaka, surpassing even the elixir, as it gives to all people the objects that they desire. After some time had elapsed from that event, that image was covered with earth, all but the face. Then the Jaina doctor Abhayasūri performed, by the command of the goddess that executes the orders of the Jina, *ācāmla* [4] penances for six months, and employing chalk, he finished the commentary on the nine Aṅgas, and then a serious disease spread itself in his body, but the ruler of Pātāla, named the glorious Dharaṇendra,[5] took the form of a white snake, and licked his body with his tongue, and immediately made him free from disease, and showed that holy place to the reverend doctor Abhayadeva. That doctor came there with the worshipful congregation, and saw a cow giving milk, and composed, in a place pointed out

[1] I read with P, α and β, *svājanyaṁ*. But the reading of the text makes good sense.

[2] No doubt he had adopted their mother as his sister. This custom has been mentioned.

[3] P and α give *sa supratiṣṭhitadevādhiṣṭhānavasācca*. This I follow.

[4] *Ācāmla* means the eating of dry food simply moistened or boiled in water. (See Dr. Hoernle's paper in the Indian Antiquary for August, 1890, note 31.)

[5] King Dharaṇa is mentioned in the Kathā Koça (p. 184 of my translation). He is a king of the Nāgakumāras. (Weber's Bhagavatī, p. 211.) *Prasadya* is a misprint for *prasahya*.

by some young cowherds, a new panegyric of thirty-two stanzas, and brought to light with the thirtieth stanza the image of Pārçvanātha. By the order of the deity that stanza was kept a profound secret.

May that image of the Jina Pārçvanātha in the city of Stambhanaka protect you,
Which, when first produced,[1] was worshipped in a temple for four thousand autumns,
As lord by Indra, Kṛṣṇa, and Varuṇa, then in his own temple[2] in Kāntī
By the rich Dhaneçvara, and then by the great Nāgārjuna!

Here end the stories about the origin of Nāgārjuna and the manifestation of the holy place Stambhanaka.

Then, in the city of Avantī, a certain Brahman, who was employed in teaching the grammar of Pāṇini, and had taken a vow to prostrate himself before the image of Ganeça on the banks of the Siprā, that fulfilled men's desires like a wishing-stone, being worried by his pupils with questions about the explanation of grammatical theses[3] and so on, one day in the rainy season, when the swollen current of that river was flowing onward, jumped into it, and by good luck came in contact with a tree, and supporting himself by placing his hand on its root, reached a boat, and worshipped Ganeça face to face. The god was pleased with his daring,[4] and said to him, "Choose a boon." He asked that he might be instructed in Pāṇini, and the god consented, and giving him a piece of chalk, explained to him the grammar daily. The grammar was thoroughly considered at the end of six months, and then the Brahman at once bade adieu to Ganeça, and, taking with him the first copy of his work, entered that city, and sat down on the open space in front of a certain house and went to sleep. Then, the next morning, a *hetaera*, being informed of that circumstance by her maids, who found him in such a condition, made them bring him, and placed him on a swing-bed. At the end of three days and three nights he shook off his sleep to a certain extent, and looking at the wonderful pictures of the picture-gallery and other rooms, he thought that he had been born into the heavenly-world, but he was informed of the real state of affairs by the *hetaera*. She satisfied him with a bath, food and drink,

[1] I have endeavoured to translate *janmāgre* which I find in P, α and β, instead of *yanmārge*. The words "image of the" are not in the original. The deity was, no doubt, a local deity, identified by the Jainas with Pārçvanātha.

[2] I find in β, *so vārddhimadhye*, an allusion to the fact that the image was found in the sea; α gives *svarvārdhimadhye*.

[3] Aufrecht, in his Catalogus Catalogorum, gives the titles of two MSS. as Phakkikāvyākhyāna (the very word used here), and Siddhāntakaumudīgūḍhaphakkikāprakāça. In Molesworth's Marāṭhi Dictionary *phakkikā* is said to mean an assertion or argument to be maintained, a position or thesis.

[4] I read *tatsāhasatuṣṭena* with P, α and β.

and other attentions, and he went to the king's audience-hall and explained [1] correctly the grammar of Pāṇini. He was liberally rewarded by the king and all the other learned men, and he gave to that *hetaera* all the wealth that he received from them.

Then he had successively four wives, belonging to four castes. Now the son of the Kṣatriya wife was Vikramāditya, but the son of the Çūdra wife was Bhartṛhari. The latter was secretly taught in a cellar on account of his being of inferior caste, but the others were made to study openly. Accordingly, they were being instructed in communication with Bhartṛhari, and the following line was being read out:—

Charity, enjoyment and waste are the three destinations of wealth.[2]

Bhartṛhari, as the usual communication was not made by the string, and the three other pupils, who were openly taught, asked for the second half [3] of the couplet, became angry, and scolded the teacher, saying, "What, you son of a concubine, do you not even now make the necessary communication by means of the string?" Then he appeared in person, and blamed the writer of the treatise, saying:—

Of wealth acquired by a hundred exertions, dearer even than life,
Charity only is the destination, the others are deviations.

Giving this version, he expressed his opinion that there was only one destination for wealth. That Bhartṛhari wrote many books, the Vairāgya-çataka and others.

Here ends the story of the birth of Bhartṛhari.

Then the ornament of the country of Mālava, king Bhoja in Dhārā, had a certain physician well read in medical treatises, named Vāgbhaṭa. He made use of all the unwholesome things mentioned in the medical treatises, and so produced diseases, and then employed to check them the remedies and diets famous in Suçruta, and so cured them. He then wished to try how long one could live without water, so he abstained from water, but at the end of three days his palate and lips were tormented with thirst, so he recited the following couplet:—

[1] I find *vyācakhyāṇo* in α and P; β has *vyācakhyāṇā*.

[2] No. 2757 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, found in Bhartṛhari and elsewhere. The second line is:—

*Yo na dadāti na bhuṅkte tasya tṛtīyā gatir bhavati.*
He who does not give or enjoy, wastes.

Clearly we must read *uttarārdhe* with α and β. They have *Bhartṛhari* (short *i*) and *kupita upādhyāyo*, thus representing the teacher as angry, because Bhartṛhari did not pull the string. The reading of P is shorter than the text, and agrees in sense with α and β.

Sometimes hot, sometimes cold, sometimes boiled and left to cool,
Sometimes mixed with medicine, water in no case is forbidden.

Such was the saying in praise of water that he uttered. He wrote a treatise named Vāgbhaṭa, with reference to his own experience.[1] His son-in-law, the younger Bāhaḍa, went with his father-in-law, the elder Bāhaḍa, to the king's palace in the early morning. After examining the appearance of the king's body, the elder Bāhaḍa said, "To-day you are free from disease." But king Bhoja observed a certain alteration in the features of the younger Bāhaḍa, and asked him the reason. He said, "To-day, at the end of night, consumption entered the king's body, for this is indicated by the appearance of a dark shade." In these words he revealed, by the inspiration of a deity, a process that could not be detected by the senses.[2] The king, astonished at the wide range of his acquirements, questioned him about the means of checking that disease,[3] when he mentioned an elixir that cost three lakhs. That elixir was prepared in six months at the cost of so much money, with great care, and at nightfall the physician put it in a glass phial and laid it on the king's bed. In the morning the king wished to take that elixir after worshipping the divinity, and after the joyful ceremony of adoring the elixir was completed, and all the necessary preparations had been made, that younger physician, for some reason or other, dashed the glass phial on the ground and broke it. The king said, "Alas! what is the meaning of this?" The physician said, "The disease has been driven away by the mere smell of the elixir, and as there is no disease, what is the good of exhibiting without cause this medicine that consumes the elements of the body, since to-day, at the end of night, that dark shade that I spoke of before, has been seen to have abandoned the king's body, and to have gone far off. In this matter the decision rests with the king." The king was pleased with this assurance of his truthfulness, and gave him a present that chased away poverty. Then all those diseases, being extirpated from the earth by that physician,[4] went to heaven and told the two physicians, the sons of Açvinī, how shamefully they had been treated. Then those two Açvins, being astonished in their minds at that intelligence,[5] took the form of a pair of blue birds, and sat on a turret underneath the window of the palace of Vāgbhaṭa, that champion who

[1] I prefer the reading of P, *nijānubhūte*. The Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā is ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa the younger, grandson of Vāgbhaṭa. (See Eggeling's Catalogue of MSS. in the India Office, p. 930.)

[2] I find in P, *iti caivātiçayena ātmīyaṁ bhāraṁ*, which, I suppose, means that the younger Bāhaḍa put forward, without reserve, his own opinion.

[3] Here α has *pratikārastathonuyuktaḥ*, and β, *pratikārāyānuktaḥ*. Perhaps we should read *pratikārāyānuyuktaḥ*.

[4] I read with P, *cikitsakena*; α and β have *cikitsikena*.

[5] I find in α and β, *pratyāvṛttyā*, which would mean "that return," as if the diseases had been sent from heaven.

warred against disease, and made this sound, "Who is free from disease[1]?" Then that man skilled in the science of medicine, having long reflected in his mind on that significant sound which they made in his vicinity, said :—

He who does not eat green herbs, who eats *ghī* with rice,
Who is addicted to milk-fluids, who does not eat with water,
Who does not eat at all, who does not eat harmful hot things,
Who snatches a meal while walking, who eats what he can digest, who eats in small quantity.

After he had said this,[2] those two went away astonished in mind ; but on the second day they assumed for the second time the forms of such birds, and, making the same sound as before, they came to the house of the physician. Again they spoke, and the answer came as follows[3] :—

He who remains quiet in the rainy season, drinks in the autumn, eats in the cold and dewy seasons,
Rejoices in the spring, sleeps in the hot season, he is free from disease, O bird.

When he had said this, they went away again. On the third day they assumed the form of mighty hermits and came to his house. Their utterance was,—

Not sprung from the earth, not of the ether, not animal,[4] not sprung from the water,
Say, physician, what is the medicine approved by all the treatises?

Again the physician gave an answer,—

Not sprung from the earth, not of the ether, wholesome, free from taste,
Abstinence is the sovereign medicine mentioned by ancient teachers.

The divine physicians were astonished in mind at this, and they showed themselves in their true form, and after giving him the boon that he chose, they went to their own place.

Here ends the story of the physician Vāgbhaṭa.

Then a certain merchant, named Dhāra, residing in the village of Ghāmaṇāuli, in wealth rivalling Kuvera, obtained[5] the leadership of the congregation. He gave life to the world of living beings by the fact that

[1] The Sanskrit *ko'ruk* sounds a little like the cry of a bird.
[2] The words *ityabhāṇi* are omitted in P, α and β.
[3] P, α and β omit *prativacaḥ*.
[4] Literally, "not to be slain."
[5] I read *āsādayad* with β, or *āsādayat* with P and α. I cannot find *mādyad* in any one of the three MSS.

he expended money, and with his five sons he took up his abode on the land lying at the foot of mount Raivataka. Because he was an adherent of the Çvetāmbara sect, he was opposed by a certain king of Girinagara, who was devoted to the Digambara sect, and when a furious battle was going on between the two armies, those five sons, fighting with infinite martial ardour, out of their zeal for the god, as their courage was stimulated by affection [1] for him, were killed, and became five lords of regions [2] round the mountain. Their names were in order, 1. Kālamegha; 2. Meghanāda; 3. Bhairava; 4. Ekapada; 5. Trailokyapāda. They were, all five of them, victorious all round the mountain, bringing to destruction the enemies of the holy place. Then their father, named Dhāra, alone remained. He went to the country of Kanyākubja, and when the ceremony of the exposition of the holy doctor Bappahaṭṭi was beginning, he gave him this order from the congregation: "The Digambaras have established themselves in the holy place of Raivataka, and they treat the Çvetāmbaras as heretics, and will not let them ascend the mountain, therefore conquer them, and deliver the holy place, and so having shown yourself devoted to the religion that you follow, proceed to perform the ceremony of exposition." By the fuel of his speech the doctor's backward [3] flame was made to blaze up, and he took the king with him, and with Dhāra reached that mountain region, and in seven days conquered the Digambaras in a set disputation,[4] and made Ambikā appear visibly before the congregation, and listened to the *gāthā* uttered by her, "There is one formula of adoration on the summit of mount Ujjayanta," and so on, and the religion of the Çvetāmbaras being thus established, the vanquished Digambaras leapt down the precipice from the portico of Balānaka.

Here ends the story of the origin of the Genii of the place.

Then, once on a time, Çiva was asked by Bhavānī,[5] "To how many pilgrims do you give a kingdom?" When she had said this, he answered, "I will give a kingdom to that man who, alone of men a hundred thousand in number, adheres to his purpose."[6] In order to prove the truth of this by example, he turned Bhavānī into an old cow stuck in the mire, and himself stood by her on the firm soil, in the form of a man, and

[1] P and α give *vallabhayā*.

[2] I believe that *kṣetrapati* means "Genius loci." I find that Professor Leumann, in his list of the Strassburg Collection of Digambara MSS., assigns this meaning to *kṣetrapāla*.

[3] P omits *pratīpa*; α and β have *parigha*.

[4] P and β have *vādasthalena*; α has *vādasthale*. The word is also used on page 165 of the Bombay text.

[5] Called Gaurī below. She is identical with Pārvatī or Durgā.

[6] Vāsanā also means Durgā. So perhaps the phrase also means "is devoted to Durgā."

called to the travellers to pull her out. They, being eager to visit the neighbouring shrine of Someçvara, laughed him to scorn. At last a compassionate party of travellers began the task of pulling her out, but Çiva assumed the form of a lion, and chased them away. However, one traveller, even preferring death, would not leave the side of that cow. He was selected and shown to Bhavānī as worthy of a throne.

Here ends the story of purpose.

Then a certain pilgrim, going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Someçvara, slept on the way in the house of a worker in iron. The wife of that worker in iron killed her husband, and placed the sword at the head of the pilgrim, and raised the hue and cry. A watchman came there and cut off the hands of that supposed guilty person. He began to exclaim against the god, but the god appeared to him in the night and said to him, "Hear the story of your former life.[1] Once on a time, a she-goat was held by the ears by one brother with his hands, while the other brother killed it. Then that she-goat after death became this woman, while the man who killed the she-goat became in this life her husband. Because on that occasion you held her ears, therefore, on meeting her again you have had your hands cut off, so how can you reproach me?"

Here ends the story of compassion.[2]

Of old time, in the city of Çaŋkhapura, there was a king named Çaŋkha.[3] In that city there was a merchant, who both in name and deeds was Dhanada.[4] He, once on a time, reflected that fortune is as unsteady as the flapping ears of an elephant, so he went with a present in his hand to the king and pleased him, and on a piece of ground granted by him he caused to be built, after consultation with his four sons, a Jaina temple in an auspicious conjunction. After he had erected the images that were to be set up there, he made many doors of approach for the service of that temple,[5] and being anxious about its ritual, he had laid out a charming garden adorned with a number of flowering trees of various kinds, and appointed people to look after it.[6] The merchant's impeding works in former births began to reveal themselves, and so he gradually found his wealth diminish, and he observed that in that city his reputation was

[1] I read with P and α, *çṛṇu tvaṁ prāgbhavaṁ*; β has *prāgbhava*.

[2] I read with P and α, *kṛpā°*; β has *krapā°*. The text would mean "the story of the sword." But the story seems to me to be an edifying Jaina tale inculcating *ahiṁsā*.

[3] This is the first tale in the Kathā Koça.

[4] i.e. a giver of wealth.

[5] All the MSS. have *samāracanāya* which I have tried to translate. This word is found on the last line of page 204, and the first line of page 322.

[6] The MSS. insert *goṣṭikeṣu* (*sic*) after *cintakeṣu*, which means, I suppose, that its caretakers formed a guild.

tarnished by his indebtedness; so he settled in a certain village at no great distance from the town, and his sons gained subsistence for him by going to and fro between the village and the town. In this way he spent some time. Then, on another occasion, when the festival, that takes place once in four months,[1] was approaching, Dhanada went to Çaṅkhapura with his sons, who were in the habit of going there, and as he was ascending the steps of his own temple, the woman, whose business it was to pick flowers in his own garden,[2] presented him with a fourfold flower-garland.[3] He was filled with great joy, and worshipped the mighty Jina with those flowers. In the night he was complaining bitterly of his bad circumstances to his spiritual guide, so he gave him a charm for attracting the Yakṣa Kapardin. Once on a time, he made use of that very charm on the fourteenth day of the black fortnight, and made the Yakṣa Kapardin[4] appear, and then by the advice of the spiritual guide, he asked that Yakṣa to bestow on him the fruit of the merit he had gained by offering a fourfold flower-garland on the occasion of the four-monthly festival. The Yakṣa answered, "I am not able to give the fruit of the merit of even one flower offered in worship, without the permission of the All-knowing[5] one." But the Yakṣa Kapardin, as he felt extraordinary affection for his co-religionist, buried in the four corners of his house four pitchers full of gold, and then disappeared. The next morning Dhanada came to his house, and made over that wealth to his sons, who were disposed to speak evil[6] of the Jaina religion. They eagerly inquired of their father the cause of his obtaining that wealth, and in order to manifest in their hearts the power of religion, he informed them that that wealth had been bestowed upon him, owing to the power of worship paid to the Jina, by the Yakṣa Kapardin, whom he had thereby gratified. They, having attained wealth, returned to the city in which they were born, and being devoted to the service of their own[7] religious edifice,

[1] These days, according to Ātmārām Muni, are the days of the full moon of the white fortnight, in Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārtika. On these days the Jainas, after fasting, perform pious works. (See note on page 1 of my translation of the Kathā Koça.)

[2] P has *puṣpamālāvikayā*, but α and β support the text.

[3] See Professor Leumann's notes on my translation of the Kathā Koça, p. 233.

[4] According to the note in Kāthavaṭe's edition of the Kīrtikaumudī on the 22nd stanza of the IXth canto, the image of the Yakṣa Kapardin, frequently met with in Jaina temples, has a bull's head, and the rest of the body human. This Yakṣa is supposed to be a sort of guard.

[5] Here I transcribe the corresponding passage literatim from my MS. of the Kathā Koça which I call C.

*Tasya puraḥ Kaparda-Yakṣaḥ* (sic) *pratyakṣībabhūva uktaṁ ca bho Dhanada cāturmāsikāvasare Çrīvītarāgasya puṣphacatuḥsarapūjāḥ* (sic) *puṇya phalaṁ me dehi tena kathitaṁ ekasyāpi pūjākusamasya* (sic) *sarvajñaṁ vinā dātuṁ na samarthaḥ iti kāraṇāt tasya sādharmikatvāt Kapardiyakṣenetadgrhe* (sic) *caturṣu gṛhakoṇikeṣu*, &c.

[6] I find *nindā* for *dāna* in P, α and β, and in the corresponding passage in the Kathā Koça. I also read *samarpayāmāsa* on the same authority.

[7] All the MSS. that I have seen, give *nija*. The corresponding passage in

and engaged in propagating the law of the Jina in many various ways, they firmly established the Jaina religion even in the minds of people of alien faiths.

Here ends the story of Dhanada, having reference to the worship of him who is without passion.

Thus the fifth chapter of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi produced by the teacher Merutuṅga, called the miscellaneous chapter, which is the description, commencing with the discrimination of vessels uttered by Vikramāditya and others, and ending with the story of Dhanada having reference to the worship of the Jina, has been completed. The number of *çlokas*[1] is 3000.

As deeply-learned virtuous old men are generally hard to find,
And as learning is evidently sinking from the decay of the ability and application of pupils,
Therefore this book, like a dole of nectar, has been made by stringing together the stories of good men,
By the author, desirous of doing a great service to future sages.
This "wishing-stone of narratives," taken in the palm of the hand,
Produces the appearance of the Syamantaka jewel, being a deposit for a long time,
Placed on the heart, it creates an excellent pure ray[2] of the Kaustubha,
So, by means of this book, the wise man becomes like the husband of Çrī.[3]
As I have heard, I have carefully compiled
This book from narratives, though I am dull of intellect;
Intellectual men, giants in wisdom,
Must exalt it to honour, dismissing jealousy.
As long as in heaven the sun and moon, like two gamblers, play with the planets as cowries,
So long may this book rejoice, being taught by learned doctors!

In the thirteen hundred and sixty-first year of the era of king Vikramāditya, on this fifteenth day of the white fortnight of Phālguna, being a Sunday, in this city of Vardhamāna, this book, called Cintāmaṇi, has been completed.

the Kathā Koça is *Jinadharmasthānasamāracanāparāḥ*. This, no doubt, means "devoted to building Jaina religious edifices."

[1] Or, as Professor Leumann points out, more correctly, "the number of *granthas*," because *çloka* properly denotes a verse, whereas *grantha* means a prose passage that has the extent of a *çloka*. But in India the word *çloka* is, I think, often used in this sense.

[2] *Kalā* is properly a digit, the sixteenth part of the moon.

[3] Viṣṇu, who wears the Syamantaka on his wrist and the Kaustubha on his breast.

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